CICERO

IN TWENTY-EIGHT VOLUMES

XV

PHILIPPICS

WITH AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION BY

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CICERO

XV

PHILIPPICS

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LIST OF CICERO'S WORKS

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INTRODUCTORY NOTE

The text adopted for the present translation is chiefly that of the Teubner text of 1910. But readings of previous issues of that text, and of other texts, have been substituted, where these appear to conform more closely to the MSS.

These MSS. are seven in number,[1] of which the Vatican is the chief. It is of the eighth or ninth century. It ceases, however, to be available after the middle of the ninth chapter of the eleventh Philippic, with the exception of fragments of the twelfth and thirteenth, viz. xii. 5. 12 to 9. 23, and xiii. 1. 1. to 5. 10. There are also four MSS., known collectively as D. They are of different dates, two being of the thirteenth, and two of the eleventh century. They are all copied from the same older MS., but are independent of one another. Another Italian MS. of the fifteenth century was consulted by Halm, who also, with reference to the fourteenth Philippic, obtained the collation of an Italian MS., which he refers to as v. It is carelessly written, but is pronounced by Halm as one of the more ancient Italian MSS.

The only English commentaries on the Philippics as a whole are that by George Long in the *Bibliotheca Classica* (1858), and the edition by the Rev. J. R. King (Clar. Press, 2nd ed., 1878), a scholarly

[1] These details are taken from King's useful edition of the speeches.

work which has been of invaluable assistance in the preparation of this translation. Of the second Philippic Prof. Mayor's edition is well known. Another useful edition of the same speech is by A. G. Peskett (Camb. Univ. Press, 1913).

A translation of the Philippics by C. D. Yonge is contained in Bohn's Classical Library. A superior work is the translation by King (Thornton, Oxf., 1878). And the first and second speeches were translated (3rd ed., 1758; 5th ed., 1806) by William Guthrie.

SYNOPSIS OF DATES

B.C.

63. Cicero's consulship. He crushes the Catilinarian conspiracy, and puts the principal conspirators to death.

52. P. Clodius, the tribune, is slain by Milo (whom Cicero defends). Riots at the funeral between the partisans of Clodius and Milo. Burning of the Senate-house.

49. Jan.—The Senate declares the State to be in danger, and calls on Caesar to disband his army. M. Antonius and Q. Cassius, the tribunes, veto the decree, and then on the 6th fly to Caesar, who on the 15th crosses the Rubicon, and begins the civil war. Pompeius abandons Italy.

April.—Caesar enters Rome on the 1st; and on the 5th leaves Ant. in charge of Italian affairs, and Lepidus as praefectus urbi, and proceeds to Spain. At Ilerda Afranius and Petreius, the Pompeian generals, surrender to him.

B.C.

48. Aug.—Caesar defeats Pompeius on the 9th at Pharsalia in Thessaly. Pomp. flies to Egypt, and is there assassinated. Caesar reduces Massilia.

46. Caesar defeats the Pompeian forces at Thapsus in Africa.

45. March.—Caesar on the 17th overthrows the remaining Pompeian forces at Munda in Spain. Death of Cn. Pompeius, and flight of Sextus.

44. Jan.—Consuls Caesar and M. Antonius, and (after Caesar's death) Cn. Dolabella.

Feb.—On the 15th, Ant. at the Lupercalia offers Caesar a diadem.

March.—Assassination of Caesar on the 15th. On the 17th the Senate meets in the Temple of Tellus. Cicero supports an amnesty. On the 18th, Caesar's "acts" are ratified. Caesar's funeral in the Forum is afterwards celebrated. Ant.'s oration is followed by riots.

April.—The pseudo-Marius erects an altar and column in the Forum in honour of Caesar. Riots ensue, and the pseudo-Marius is put to death by Ant. Early in this month Caesar Octavianus lands in Italy.

May.—Dolabella levels the site of the altar and column. Ant. proceeds to the south to enlist Caesar's veterans.

June.—Ant. on the 1st summons the Senate to the Temple of Concord, which he surrounds with armed men, and carries out a number of fictitious "acts" of Caesar.

July.—On the 6th, C. Antonius, as praetor, holds the Apollinarian Games in place of

B.C.

M. Brutus. In the same month Sext. Pompeius agrees to lay down his arms. On the 17th, Cicero sets out for Greece.

44. Aug.—On the 1st, Piso attacks Ant. in the Senate. Cicero abandons his voyage and reaches Rome on the 31st.

Sept.—Ant. attacks Cicero in the Senate on the 1st for his absence from the debate. On the 2nd, Cicero replies in the first Philippic. On the 19th, Ant. rejoins in violent terms, C. being absent.

Oct.—C. retires to Puteoli, and composes the second Philippic. On the 9th, Ant. sets out for Brundisium to take command of four legions from Macedonia. He butchers Roman citizens and soldiers at Suessa and Brundisium.

Nov.—Ant. returns to Rome in battle array, aud summons the Senate for the 24th and 28th, with a view to the impeachment of Caesar Oct. On hearing of the defection of the Martian and Fourth legions, he hurriedly departs for Alba. Being refused admission, he proceeds to Tibur, where he placates the troops by a donation. He then sets out for Cisalpine Gaul to encounter D. Brutus. C. about this time publishes the second Philippic.

Dec.—C. returns to Rome on the 9th. The tribunes summon the Senate on the 20th to provide for the public safety. C. delivers the third Philippic, and on the same day in the Forum the fourth.

43. Jan.—Consuls A. Hirtius and C. Pansa. On the 1st, C. in the fifth Philippic opposes a

B.C.

suggested embassy to Ant., but is overruled. On the 4th he delivers the sixth Philippic in the Forum; and some time in the same month the seventh. At the end of the month the surviving ambassadors (Sulpicius having died) return, bringing Ant.'s counter-proposals.

43. Feb.—The Senate declares "a tumult," and decrees military garb. The proposal of a second embassy to Ant. is defeated. The next day C. in the eighth Philippic deprecates any peace with Ant. The day after the Senate awards a public funeral and a statue to Sulpicius. C. delivers the ninth Philippic.

March (?).—C. Antonius is besieged in Apollonia by M. Brutus, the rival Governor of Macedonia. In the Senate, C. in the tenth Philippic carries a proposal that M. Brutus should be confirmed in his command.

Dolabella treacherously murders Trebonius at Smyrna. The Senate proclaims him a public enemy. The next day C. in the eleventh Philippic proposes that command in Syria should be conferred on C. Cassius. But the commission is given to the two consuls after the relief of D. Brutus.

Pansa proposes a second embassy to A., to include C. himself, who opposes in the twelfth Philippic, and the proposal is abandoned. At the end of the month Pansa joins Hirtius before Mutina.

L. Plancus, Governor of Transalpine Gaul, and M. Lepidus, Governor of Hither Spain, write advocating peace. Votes of thanks

B.C.

to both are passed. C. in the thirteenth Philippic deprecates peace. He criticises a letter from A. to the consuls.

43. April.—News arrives on the 20th of the first battle of Mutina, fought on the 15th, in which the Consul Pansa is mortally wounded. On the 21st C. in the fourteenth Philippic delivers a funeral tribute to the fallen soldiers. A public thanksgiving of fifty days is decreed. On the 27th in the second battle of Mutina A. is defeated and the Consul Hirtius slain.

THE PHILIPPICS OF CICERO

INTRODUCTION TO PHILIPPIC I

I

The name "Philippics" given to these orations was borrowed from those delivered by the Athenian Demosthenes in the fourth century B.C. against the Macedonian King Philip, the father of Alexander the Great. If the "Epistles to Brutus" be genuine, the name seems to have been playfully given to the speeches against Antonius by Cicero himself. Thus he writes to Brutus (*ad Brut.* 2. 4): "I see you are pleased with my Philippics"; and Brutus, referring to the 5th and 10th orations, writes (2. 5): "I have read your two speeches. . . . I now acknowledge that they may even be called Philippics, as you jestingly wrote of them in some letter." But, however this may be, the name was adopted as early at least as the time of Juvenal, though Aulus Gellius uniformly calls them "Antonian orations," a more appropriate name.

Marcus Antonius, the future triumvir, and the "Mark Antony" of Shakespeare and of history, was the grandson of M. Antonius, a celebrated orator in his day, whom Cicero had known and courted in his youth. His son Marcus, the triumvir's father, was a man of no capacity or reputation. He was given in 74 the command of the fleet, and authority on the coasts of the Mediterranean, with the view to the suppression of piracy, a task which he failed to accomplish. After attacking the Cretans without

cause, he was defeated, and died in Crete, receiving in derision the surname of Creticus.

His brother Caius, surnamed Hybrida, the younger M. Antonius' uncle, was impeached by J. Caesar in 76 for extortion in his province of Achaia, and in 70 was expelled from the Senate. He was nevertheless Cicero's colleague in the consulship in 63. His sympathies were with the Catilinarian conspirators, from whom he was detached by a promise on the part of Cicero to resign to him the province of Macedonia. This province he disgracefully plundered, and was prosecuted, being defended by Cicero, and on conviction he was banished to the island of Cephallenia. He was afterwards restored by Caesar about 45. Cicero charges Antonius with his discrimination against his uncle when he might have used his influence in 49 with Caesar to recall him (*Phil.* 2. 23 and 38). Juvenal (8. 105) couples the name of Antonius with Dolabella and Verres as a notorious instance of provincial spoliation.

The Marcus Antonius whom Cicero attacks in the Philippics was brought up from a very early age in the household of P. Lentulus, his mother Julia's second husband. This man was implicated in the conspiracy of Catiline, and was put to death by Cicero in the consulship of the latter, a fact which, according to Plutarch (*Ant.* 2), was the cause of Antonius' bitter hostility to the orator. In his youth Antonius attached himself to the profligate C. Curio, an association which was, even in the Rome of those days, a scandal (*Phil.* 2. 18); and in 58 he allied himself with P. Clodius, the turbulent tribune of the commons. But a breach occurred between them, as Cicero hints, because of an intrigue

between him and Clodius' wife Fulvia, who afterwards became his own wife: *Phil.* 2. 19. This notorious woman had had two husbands before she married Antonius, viz. Curio and Clodius; and he himself had been married twice before, to Fadia, the daughter of Q. Fadius, a freedman, and to his cousin Antonia, whom he divorced to enable him to marry Fulvia, and whom in the Senate, and in the presence of her father, he accused of unchastity with Dolabella: *Phil.* 2. 38.

From 58 to 55 Antonius was with A. Gabinius in the East, and accompanied the illegal expedition which restored Ptolemy Auletes to the throne of Egypt (*Phil.* 2. 19), and in that campaign displayed military capacity. In 53 he was, on Caesar's recommendation, elected quaestor, and departed to Caesar in Gaul, as Cicero says (*Phil.* 2. 20), without waiting for a decree of the Senate, or law of the people, or the partition by lot of the provinces. On his return from Gaul he was in 49, by the help of Caesar, elected an augur, and also a tribune of the commons.

In the same year he, as tribune with a colleague A. Cassius, vetoed the decree of the Senate that Caesar should, on pain of being declared a public enemy, disband his army, and, being threatened with violence, fled to Caesar. Caesar then crossed the Rubicon. Accordingly Cicero charges it against Antonius that, by his "pestilent veto," he gave Caesar a pretext for civil war (*Phil.* 2. 22).

When, after the flight of Pompeius from Italy, Caesar in 49 was proceeding to Spain to encounter his great rival's lieutenants, he left Antonius in command of the Italian Peninsula. Antonius was present in 48 at Pharsalia, where he commanded the left

wing of Caesar's army, and about October in the same year, while Caesar was in Egypt and Dictator for the second time, Antonius, though remaining in Italy, was his master of the horse (*Phil.* 2. 25 and 29), and managed the affairs of Italy. In 44 he held the consulship with Caesar, though Caesar had promised that office to Dolabella. Antonius, being determined to have all power in his hands during Caesar's absence in the Parthian war, had induced his colleague to break his promise to Dolabella; and on January 1 Caesar, by way of compromise, announced that, during his own absence, Dolabella should be deputy-consul. On this Antonius threatened as augur to vitiate the election, and on some subsequent day attempted to do so by saying the omens were unpropitious: *Phil.* 2. 33. The legality of the election was one of the subjects to be discussed on the 15th of March, but Caesar's death rendered the day, as Cicero says, abortive.

It may here be added that when—among the honours "more than mortal," as Suetonius (*Caes.* 76) says, decreed to Caesar—the Senate gave him the title of Jupiter Julius (*Dio* 44. 6), Antonius was appointed his flamen, or special priest, but had not, during the period covered by these speeches, been consecrated by the augurs: *Phil.* 2. 43; 13. 19. Cicero accordingly asks him why he does not get himself consecrated, as "divine Julius" should not lack his priest. This is probably the earliest instance in literature of the use of a title (*divus*) which became subsequently the official title of the Roman Emperors.

II

When, on the 15th of March, the dictator Caesar fell dead in the Hall of Pompeius at the foot of his great rival's statue, the conspirators, brandishing their bloody daggers and calling on the name of Cicero, passed out of the Senate, preceded by a cap of liberty fixed to the end of a spear. They proclaimed to all they met that they had slain a king and a tyrant. In the meantime M. Antonius, Caesar's colleague in the consulship, whom Trebonius—Cicero says (*Phil.* 2. 14) by collusion—had prevented from being present in the Senate, escaped to his house in the Carinae in the disguise of a slave.

The conspirators, being received in silence by the stupefied populace, and being uncertain of the attitude of Lepidus, Caesar's master of the horse, who commanded a legion outside the walls, and of Caesar's veterans in the city, retreated to the Capitol to the protection of a troop of gladiators whom D. Brutus had hired on the pretence of games. The same afternoon, or the next day, they descended to the Forum and Brutus harangued the people. He was respectfully but coldly received; but the praetor Cinna, and Dolabella, who, in opposition to Antonius, had so far attached himself to the popular cause, by their intemperate references to Caesar roused the populace to fury, and the crestfallen conspirators again returned to the Capitol. Towards nightfall on the 15th Cicero and other prominent men visited Brutus and his associates, and Cicero advised that the two praetors, Brutus and Cassius, one consul being dead, and the other, Antonius, having disappeared, should summon the Senate to the Capitoline Temple for the following day, but he was overruled;

and he was urged to approach Antonius and to exhort him to defend the republic. But Cicero refused, saying that Antonius would, while he was in fear, promise anything, but, when the fear was removed, would be himself again (*Phil.* 2. 35). After Cicero left the Capitol a deputation was sent to Antonius and Lepidus, and in reply Antonius agreed to summon the Senate for the 17th, and he named as the place of meeting the Temple of Tellus near his own house.

In the meantime Antonius had on the night of the 15th possessed himself, with the consent of Calpurnia, the dead man's widow, of 4000 talents of Caesar's treasure, and of his private papers. And on the 16th, by the aid of his brothers Caius the praetor and Lucius the tribune, he withdrew from the public treasure in the Temple of Ops the sum of 700,000,000 sesterces. About the same time, by promising him the Pontificate, he came to an agreement with Lepidus, who had on the 16th occupied the Forum with his troops, with a view to consolidating their mutual interests.

On the 17th, in the Temple of Tellus, none of the conspirators being present, Cicero "laid," as he said, "the foundations of the republic" by proposing, or supporting a general amnesty, and the confirmation of Caesar's acts; and on the 18th the Senators, being overawed by the swordsmen whom Antonius had posted hard by, and many of them being personally interested in Caesar's appointments, which would be void if the Dictator were declared an usurper, formally confirmed his acts, including his assignments of provinces, viz. Cisalpine Gaul to D. Brutus, Macedonia to M. Brutus, Syria to C. Cassius, Bithynia to Tillius Cimber, and Asia to Trebonius.

The conspirators were then invited to come down from the Capitol, which they did on receiving as hostages for their safety sons of Antonius and Lepidus. That same evening, in token of reconciliation, Brutus supped with Lepidus and Cassius with Antonius.

At the same session of the Senate it was resolved, on the motion of Calpurnius Piso, Caesar's father-in-law, that his will should be published and a public funeral granted.

The will, by which the Roman people was largely benefited, was afterwards read in the Forum. Then came the public funeral, a concession fatal to the patriots, as Atticus said to Cicero (*ad Att.* 14. 10). The pyre had been constructed in the Field of Mars near the tomb of the Dictator's daughter Julia. In the funeral itself nothing was left undone by way of playing upon the feelings of the populace, and of producing the highest dramatic effect. The body, clad in the gown worn on the 15th, was laid upon an ivory couch covered with an embroidered gold and purple pall, which was borne by the noblest in the State. By way of emphasising the dead man's divinity, a chapel modelled on that of Venus Genitrix, which Caesar had founded, was erected in front of the Rostra. Appropriate lines from Pacuvius and Attilius were chanted to solemn music "to excite commiseration and hatred of the murder": Suet. *Jul.* 84.

Antonius, as consul, delivered the funeral oration, in which he recited Caesar's achievements. He reminded the people that the Senate had declared his person to be inviolable. Then, by way of contrast, he exhibited the dead man's gown pierced by three-and-twenty dagger wounds. Roused to a pitch of

frenzy, the mob insisted that the body should be burned there and then within the walls, the idea—sedulously fostered by Antonius' agents—being that "the city should be hallowed and secured by containing within its walls the tomb of a tutelary divinity." This was, as Merivale (n. to Abeken's *Life of Cic.* p. 385) points out, Caesar's "inchoate apotheosis." Accordingly the people piled up chairs, tables and benches on the spot, which was hard by the Temple of Castor and Pollux, and thereby raised a funeral pile on which the body was placed. Two youths girt with swords and carrying javelins, whom superstition or policy[1] identified with Castor and Pollux, applied the torch. The musicians and scenic artists heaped on the pile their costly robes, the veterans their arms, and the women their ornaments, and even their children's trinkets: Suet. *Caes.* 84. Then, snatching the burning brands from the pyre, the mob attacked the houses of the principal conspirators, but were held at bay by slaves. But Cinna, the poet, a partisan of Caesar, was, in mistake for Cinna the praetor, torn limb from limb, and the house of L. Bellienus, a Pompeian Senator, was burned to the ground: *Phil.* 2. 36. These violent outbursts Cicero charges to the funeral oration (*ibid.*), and he goes on to contrast Antonius' patriotic conduct subsequently, as when he proposed that the dictatorship should be abolished, and that after the 16th of March no immunity or grant of Caesar's should be advertised, thus, as it were, "wiping off the soot of the funeral" (*ibid.*).

At the beginning of April an impostor, calling

[1] The pretended vision of the two was no doubt contrived to overcome a superstitious repugnance to cremation within the walls: n. to Mer. *Rom. Emp.* c. 23.

himself a descendant of the great Marius, and therefore of kin to Caesar, but who was, in fact, a horse-doctor named Herophilus or Amatius, appeared in Rome. He had previously ingratiated himself with the populace during Caesar's absence on his Spanish campaign, and had, on the Dictator's return, been banished. He now mingled with the crowds that still lingered round the scene of the cremation as a holy spot, fanned the excitement of the mob, and built an altar in front of the column of Numidian marble twenty feet high which the people had erected, inscribed with the words "To the Father of his country." At this altar he persuaded the people to pour libations and make sacrifices to Caesar as to a god. But Antonius quelled the excitement, and put the offender to death without form of law; and Dolabella, in Antonius' absence, pulled down the column and altar, and levelled the site (*Phil.* 1. 2), which was the object of Antonius' veneration, says Cicero (*Phil.* 2. 42). It is from this time that Cicero dates Dolabella's defection from the patriotic party. He suggests that Dolabella was intimidated by Antonius; but in a private letter to Atticus (16. 15) he says that "although he had, at my instigation, begun by defending the republic, he, for a bribe, not only deserted it, but, as far as he could, subverted it." And this bribe he says in another letter (*ad Att.* 14. 18) was carried out by Faberius' forgery of Caesar's order on the Treasury.

About the middle of April Antonius left Rome to superintend the execution of a measure for the assignment of lands in Campania and elsewhere among the veterans, and to win them to his cause: *ad Att.* 14. 21. This measure had been proposed by his brother Lucius the tribune, and carried by

violence, and in the midst of a thunderstorm (*Phil.* 5. 3; 11. 6), and it was afterwards repealed by the Senate: *Phil.* 6. 5. Under it seven commissioners were to be appointed, of which Antonius and his brother Lucius were two. During this progress through Campania he attempted illegally to found colonies at Capua and Casilinum, where colonists had already in 59 been settled by Caesar, and was roughly handled by the Capuans, who ejected the new settlers (*Phil.* 2. 39, 12. 3). Cicero accuses him of dividing the Campanian lands and Leontine lands in Sicily among his boon companions and fellow-gamblers, and other disreputable persons, among whom his rhetorician, S. Clodius, received 2000 jugera, and his doctor 3000 (*Phil.* 2. 17 and 39); and in exaggerated language speaks of L. Antonius, the proposer of the agrarian law (*Phil.* 5. 3), and of Nucula and Lento (*Phil.* 11. 6), two of the commissioners, as "parcellers of all Italy."

By the middle of April the chief conspirators had all left the city. D. Brutus had gone to take up his government of Cisalpine Gaul, Cimber to Bithynia, and Trebonius to Asia (*ad Att.* 14. 10 and 13). The chief actors in Caesar's assassination, Brutus and Cassius, had left Rome finally about this time, probably in consequence of the confusion caused by the pseudo-Marius; but they lingered for months in its vicinity, being unable, from peril to their lives, to perform the duties of the praetorship, and at the same time unable to take up the provincial governments of Macedonia and Syria which they claimed respectively till the expiration of their term of office. In the meantime their proceedings were marked by weakness and irresolution. About the 8th of June Cicero had a conference with them at Antium.

Writing to Atticus (*ad Att.* 15. 11), he says "he found the ship broken, or rather shattered to pieces," and in the proceedings of the two "neither judgment, system, nor order." They left Italy finally about August, having first issued a joint edict to the effect that they were willing, if it conduced to the peace of the republic, to live in perpetual exile, and that they would give no occasion for civil war: Vell. 2. 62.

In the same month of April a new actor appeared upon the scene, the young Octavius Caesar, the great-nephew and adopted son of the Dictator, and the heir under his will. At the time of the assassination he had been pursuing his studies at Apollonia in Macedonia. On the receipt of the news of Caesar's murder he determined to put his fortune to the test, in spite of the warnings of his mother Atia and of his step-father Philippus against his assumption of so dangerous an inheritance. Landing secretly at Lupia, an obscure town in the neighbourhood of Brundisium, he assumed the name of Caius Julius Caesar Octavianus, and presented himself, as his adoptive father's heir, to the legions at that place. They received him with acclamation, and promised him their support. But Octavian—as he should now be called—had adopted the rôle for the present of moderation, and declined their offers. On the 18th he met Cicero at Puteoli, and treated him with the utmost consideration and respect. As he advanced towards Rome the party of his adherents swelled; but he repressed the zeal of the veterans who flocked to him offering to avenge the death of their old general. On his arrival at Rome he notified the Senate of his claim as Caesar's heir, canvassed the Senators, and harangued the people

in support of the *lex curiata* which was necessary to make his adoption legal, and promised to pay Caesar's legacies. Both to Senate and to people he pleaded only his filial duty to the dead, and his gratitude for the benefactions bestowed upon him. All ulterior aims were carefully concealed.

Antonius was at the time away from the city, and did not return to Rome until the middle of May; which he did, as Cicero says (*Phil.* 2. 42) "in battle array." On being applied to by Octavian for the moneys the Dictator had left behind him, to enable him to pay the legacies he had promised to discharge, Antonius returned the insolent reply that the moneys were public moneys, and had been spent; moreover, that Octavian was ungrateful in asking for them, inasmuch as it was through Antonius himself that the will had been ratified at all. Octavian thereupon, by borrowing money and by the contributions of his friends, made good his obligations, thereby acquiring additional popularity, which he further enhanced by agreeing to bear the cost of the shows to be given on the dedication of the Temple of Venus Genitrix which Caesar had vowed on the morning of Pharsalia. Antonius did his best to hamper Octavian by delaying, by means of tribunes, the passing of the *lex curiata,* and in other ways; but, being reminded by his own troops that his cause and that of Octavian were the same, viz. the avengement of Caesar's murder, he made with his opponent a hollow truce. This was in June or July.

Antonius had before this entirely discarded the mask of moderation it had been at first his policy to assume. On the plea of self-protection he had extorted from the Senate permission to keep a

bodyguard. This he raised to the number of 6000 picked men, a number which, in spite of the protests of the Senate, he would not reduce. And by the aid of Caesar's estate and the public treasure he had taken on March 16 out of the Temple of Ops, he had paid his debts, so that, as Cicero says (*Phil.* 2. 37), instead of owing on that date 40,000,000 sesterces, he was on the 1st of April solvent. He also won Dolabella as a supporter by the payment of his debts. And by his possession of Caesar's papers and the assistance of Caesar's former secretary Faberius he was able to bring within the category of "Caesar's acts" proposals that suited his own purposes, even to the extent of forgery. And he and his wife Fulvia carried on a lively traffic by the sale of franchises, immunities from taxation, even provinces, such as the Lesser Armenia, which he sold to King Deiotarus, and Crete. And to the Sicilians he granted the freedom of the city; so that, as Cicero says (*Phil.* 1. 2), by the 1st of June his conduct had fundamentally changed.

On that day, having filled the city with armed men, he summoned the Senate. For fear of their lives, neither Cicero, nor Brutus, nor Cassius, nor the majority of the Senators dared to attend : *Phil.* 2. 42. He instigated Dolabella to ask the Senate for the province of Syria, together with the command ot the legions intended for the Parthian war ; and, the Senate being unwilling, as the province had been assigned to Cassius by Caesar, and the assignment confirmed on March 18, Antonius procured it from the people by a law.[1] On the 5th he obtained from the Senate for himself the province of Macedonia,

[1] Mayor (Intr. to 2nd *Phil.* s. 47), however, says that D. had obtained the province as early as April.

which had been similarly assigned to M. Brutus. About the same day Brutus, the City Praetor, was by a law granted formal leave of absence; and to him and Cassius was given a commission to procure corn, with authority in certain districts on the Mediterranean, a charge meant to ensure their absence from Italy, and also by way of insult, for, as Cicero writes (*ad Att.* 15. 10), "what duty could be meaner?" Antonius afterwards, perhaps in July, by bribery of the tribunes, and with the assistance of Octavian, obtained from the people in their tribes the province of Cisalpine Gaul in exchange for Macedonia, the Senate having refused to sanction the exchange: *App.* 3. 30. It was the resistance of D. Brutus to this transfer that brought about the civil war. Antonius on November 28 obtained Macedonia from the Senate for his brother Caius: *Phil.* 3. 10.

The next event in chronological sequence was the plays and shows, which began on July 6. These it was the duty of M. Brutus, as City Praetor, to exhibit. Brutus being absent in the island of Nesis off the coast of Campania, they were held under the presidency of Antonius' brother Caius. The play was the *Tereus* of Accius in which the references to tyranny were received with unbounded applause, called by Cicero (*Phil.* 1. 15) "the judgment of the Roman people." But in a letter to Atticus (16. 2) he says, "he is all the more indignant that the Roman people were using their hands, not in defending the State, but in clapping plays."

In this posture of affairs Cicero, despairing of anything salutary being done, at least until the new consuls, Hirtius and Pansa, entered upon office on January 1 of the next year, 43 B.C., deter-

mined to make his long-contemplated voyage to Athens, "where he would not hear of the deeds nor the fame of the Pelopidae." With this in view Dolabella had on June 4 appointed him his honorary lieutenant, an appointment which entitled Cicero to travel in the provinces without any duties to discharge: *Phil.* 1. 2; *ad Att.* 15. 11.

Starting from Pompeii on the 16th of July, Cicero sailed down the coast of Italy, and reached Leucopetra, a promontory near Rhegium. From there he crossed to Syracuse on the 1st of August. After a single night's stay he set sail for Greece, but was blown back by contrary winds to Leucopetra. Here he received news of the farewell edict of Brutus and Cassius,[1] and of a letter written by them to the consulars and ex-praetors begging their attendance at a meeting of the Senate on the 1st of September; he also heard there was great hope that Antonius would come to an agreement with them, would resign his claim to Cisalpine Gaul, and would submit to the Senate; that the republican party would be able to return, and that his own absence was regretted and somewhat criticised: *ad Att.* 16. 7.

In the meantime Brutus and Cassius had demanded a definite release from their obligations, as praetors, to remain in Rome during their term of office, and had asked Antonius to summon the Senate with the view of a decree to that effect. Antonius named the 1st of August. Many of the consulars who had fled therefore returned. The sitting was chiefly remarkable for the violent attack Calpurnius Piso made upon Antonius. But in a cowed Senate Piso found no supporter: *Phil.* 1. 6. Neither Brutus nor Cassius ventured to be present.

[1] See *ante*, p. 12.

On this occasion Antonius seems to have made a violent speech, to which, on the 4th, Brutus and Cassius reply in a fierce but impotent manifesto (*ad Fam.* 11. 3) saying that "threats had no influence on free men," and advising Antonius to consider, "not how long Caesar lived, but how short a time he reigned."

On hearing what the messengers told him, Cicero abandoned his voyage. On the 17th he saw Brutus at Velia, and heard of Piso's speech on the 1st. He entered Rome on the 31st amid cheering crowds. But he did not attend the Senate, which Antonius had summoned on the 1st of September, pleading the fatigues of his journey. He wished, no doubt, to avoid a breach with Antonius until the latter had shown his hand. Moreover, it was known that Antonius intended to propose "that on the occasion of every thanksgiving for public successes a special day should be appropriated for offerings to the deified Caesar": *Phil.* 1. 6; 2. 43. And such a proposal Cicero regarded as impious.

In the debate Antonius furiously attacked Cicero for his absence, and threatened to send housebreakers to pull down his house as a penalty for his defection. On the next day, Antonius having departed to Tibur, his colleague Dolabella summoned the Senate. The orator then on September 2 delivered the first Philippic.

He began by giving the reasons for his departure and for his return. He had departed because he preferred rather to hear of what went on at Rome than to see it. What had happened was that, whereas Antonius on the 17th of March, and for some time after, had been studiously moderate

and conciliatory in his policy, had not abused his possession of Caesar's papers, had restored no exiles, had abolished the dictatorship, and had suppressed disorder (conduct which his colleague Dolabella had independently followed), yet by the 1st of June there had been a complete change. Nothing was done through the Senate, but all through the people in their tribes, and even against its will. The consuls elect dared not come into the Senate; the liberators of their country were exiles from the city; and the veterans were incited to hope for fresh spoil. He had returned because he had been informed that an agreement would be come to between Antonius and the liberators, and that Antonius would obey the Senate.

He proceeded to protest against the honours to be paid to Caesar's memory, as being impious. He thanked Piso for his speech on the 1st of August, and regretted that he found no supporter. He agreed that Caesar's acts[1] should be ratified, but mere promises or casual memoranda were not "acts"; least of all should Antonius have upset positive laws. These he enumerates. He ends with an appeal to Antonius and Dolabella to seek genuine glory, and not domination over their fellow-citizens. As for himself, he had already proved his constancy, and in the future he would not fail.

The speech throughout is studiously moderate, and attacks Antonius' public acts only to the exclusion of all strictures on his private conduct. The orator had not yet thrown down the gage of combat. That was reserved for the second speech.

[1] Such as his edicts, nominations of magistrates, assignments of provinces, and executive acts generally.

M. TULLI CICERONIS IN M. ANTONIUM ORATIO PHILIPPICA PRIMA

1 I. ANTEQUAM de re publica, patres conscripti, dicam ea, quae dicenda hoc tempore arbitror, exponam vobis breviter consilium et profectionis et reversionis meae. Ego cum sperarem aliquando ad vestrum consilium auctoritatemque rem publicam esse revocatam, manendum mihi statuebam quasi in vigilia quadam consulari ac senatoria. Nec vero usquam discedebam nec a re publica deiciebam oculos ex eo die, quo in aedem Telluris convocati sumus. In quo templo, quantum in me fuit, ieci fundamenta pacis Atheniensiumque renovavi vetus exemplum; Graecum etiam verbum usurpavi, quo tum in sedandis discordiis usa erat civitas illa, atque omnem memoriam discordiarum oblivione sempiterna de-
2 lendam censui. Praeclara tum oratio M. Antoni, egregia etiam voluntas; pax denique per eum et per liberos eius cum praestantissimis civibus confirmata est.

Atque his principiis reliqua consentiebant. Ad deliberationes eas, quas habebat domi de re publica, principes civitatis adhibebat; ad hunc ordinem res optimas deferebat; nihil tum, nisi quod erat notum

[1] ἀμνηστία or ἄδεια (amnesty).

THE FIRST PHILIPPIC OF M. TULLIUS CICERO AGAINST M. ANTONIUS

I. BEFORE I make those remarks, Conscript Fathers, on public affairs which I think should be made at this time, I will explain briefly the reason both of my departure and of my return. While I hoped that the Commonwealth had at length again submitted itself to your judgment and authority, I determined that, as consular and as Senator, I was bound to remain as it were on guard. Indeed I neither departed anywhere nor diverted my eye from public affairs from the day when we were convened in the Temple of Tellus. In that temple I laid, to the best of my power, the foundations of peace, and recalled the old precedent of the Athenians; I even adopted the Greek phrase [1] which that State employed in mitigation of discord, and proposed that every memory of discord should be blotted out in everlasting oblivion. The speech Marcus Antonius made that day was a noble one; his good will too was conspicuous; in a word, it was through him and his sons that peace was established with our most illustrious citizens.

And with these beginnings the sequel agreed. To the deliberations he held at his house on public affairs he invited the chief men of the State; to this our body he made the most favourable reports; nothing then but what was known to all men was

omnibus, in C. Caesaris commentariis reperiebatur; summa constantia ad ea, quae quaesita erant, re-
3 spondebat. Num qui exules restituti? Unum aiebat, praeterea neminem. Num immunitates datae. "Nullae," respondebat. Adsentiri etiam nos Ser. Sulpicio, clarissimo viro, voluit, ne qua tabula post Idus Martias ullius decreti Caesaris aut beneficii figeretur. Multa praetereo, eaque praeclara; ad singulare enim M. Antoni factum festinat oratio. Dictaturam, quae iam vim regiae potestatis obsederat, funditus ex re publica sustulit; de qua re ne sententias quidem diximus. Scriptum senatus consultum, quod fieri vellet, attulit; quo recitato auctoritatem eius summo studio secuti sumus eique amplissimis verbis per senatus consultum gratias egimus.

4 II. Lux quaedam videbatur oblata non modo regno, quod pertuleramus, sed etiam regni timore sublato, magnumque pignus ab eo rei publicae datum, se liberam civitatem esse velle, cum dictatoris nomen, quod saepe iustum fuisset, propter perpetuae dictaturae recentem memoriam funditus ex re
5 publica sustulisset. Liberatus periculo caedis paucis post diebus senatus; uncus inpactus est fugitivo illi, qui in Mari nomen invaserat. Atque haec omnia communiter cum collega; alia porro propria Dolabellae, quae, nisi collega afuisset, credo iis futura fuisse communia. Nam cum serperet in

[1] S. Clodius, the brother of the tribune: cf. A.'s letter to C. in *Epp. ad Att.* 14. 13.

being found in Caius Caesar's note-books; with the greatest decision he replied to the questions put to him. Were any exiles recalled? One,[1] he said; beyond the one, nobody. Were any exemptions from taxation given? None, he replied. He even wished us to assent to the motion of Servius Sulpicius, a man of great distinction, that from the Ides of March no notice of any decree or grant of Caesar's should be posted. Much, and that excellent, I pass over, for there is one particular act of Marcus Antonius which I must mention at once. The dictatorship, which had already usurped the might of regal authority, he abolished utterly out of the State; about that we did not even debate. He brought in draft the decree he wished passed, and when this was read we followed his recommendation with the greatest enthusiasm, and passed him a vote of thanks in the most complimentary terms.

II. It seemed almost as if light had been shed upon us, now there had been removed, not merely despotism—that we had endured—but also the dread of despotism; and a great assurance had been given by him to the State of his wish that it should be free, in that he had utterly abolished the title of dictator —an office often established by law—on account of men's recollection of the perpetual dictatorship. A few days after, the Senate was relieved from the peril of proscription; the fugitive slave who had usurped the name of Marius was executed. And all these things were done jointly with his colleague; other things afterwards were Dolabella's own acts, yet I believe that, had not Dolabella's colleague been absent, they would have been the joint acts of the two. For when an illimitable evil

urbe infinitum malum idque manaret in dies latius idemque bustum in foro facerent, qui illam insepultam sepulturam effecerant, et cotidie magis magisque perditi homines cum sui similibus servis tectis ac templis urbis minitarentur, talis animadversio fuit Dolabellae cum in audacis sceleratosque servos, tum in impuros et nefarios liberos, talisque eversio illius execratae columnae, ut mihi mirum videatur tam valde reliquum tempus ab illo uno die dissensisse.

6 Ecce enim Kalendis Iuniis, quibus ut adessemus edixerant, mutata omnia; nihil per senatum, multa et magna per populum et absente populo et invito. Consules designati negabant se audere in senatum venire; patriae liberatores urbe carebant ea, cuius a cervicibus iugum servile deiecerant; quos tamen ipsi consules in contionibus et in omni sermone laudabant. Veterani qui appellabantur, quibus hic ordo diligentissime caverat, non ad conservationem earum rerum, quas habebant, sed ad spem novarum praedarum incitabantur. Quae cum audire mallem quam videre haberemque ius legationis liberum, ea mente discessi, ut adessem Kalendis Ianuariis, quod initium senatus cogendi fore videbatur.

7 III. Exposui, patres conscripti, profectionis consilium; nunc reversionis, quae plus admirationis

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[1] An altar fronting a column twenty feet high of Numidian marble, built on the site of Julius Caesar's pyre by the mob, with the inscription, "To the father of his country": cf. Suet. *Jul.* 85; Dio 44. 51: and Intr. to this speech.

[2] Probably an allusion to the illegality of Caesar's cremation within the walls, and to the riots attending it.

was creeping into the State, and spreading day by day more widely, and when the same men were building an altar[1] in the Forum who had carried out that burial that was no burial,[2] and when daily more and more scoundrels, together with slaves like themselves, were threatening the dwellings and temples of the city, so signal was the punishment Dolabella inflicted not only on audacious and rascally slaves, but also on debauched and wicked freemen, and so prompt was his upsetting of that accursed column, that it seems to me marvellous how greatly the time that followed differed from that one day.

For look you: on the Kalends of June, on which they had summoned us to sit, all was changed: nothing was done through the Senate, much—and that important—was done through the people, and in the absence of the people and against its will. The consuls elect said they dared not come into the Senate; the liberators of their country were exiles from the city from whose neck they had struck off the yoke of slavery, while none the less the consuls themselves, both in public meetings and in common talk, were passing eulogies upon them. Those that claimed the name of veterans, for whom this our body had been most carefully solicitous, were being incited, not to preserve what they already possessed, but to hope for new plunder. As I preferred to hear of these things rather than to see them, and held an honorary commission as legate, I departed with the intention of being at home on the Kalends of January, which seemed the first likely date for a meeting of the Senate.

III. I have set forth, Conscript Fathers, the reason for my departure: now I will briefly set forth the

habet, breviter exponam. Cum Brundisium iterque illud, quod tritum in Graeciam est, non sine causa vitavissem, Kalendis Sextilibus veni Syracusas, quod ab ea urbe transmissio in Graeciam laudabatur; quae tamen urbs mihi coniunctissima plus una me nocte cupiens retinere non potuit. Veritus sum, ne meus repentinus ad meos necessarios adventus suspicionis aliquid adferret, si essem commoratus. Cum autem me ex Sicilia ad Leucopetram, quod est promunturium agri Regini, venti detulissent, ab eo loco conscendi, ut transmitterem, nec ita multum provectus reiectus austro sum in eum ipsum locum,
8 unde conscenderam. Cumque intempesta nox esset mansissemque in villa P. Valeri, comitis et familiaris mei, postridieque apud eundem ventum expectans manerem, municipes Regini complures ad me venerunt, ex iis quidam Roma recentes; a quibus primum accipio M. Antoni contionem, quae mihi ita placuit, ut ea lecta de reversione primum coeperim cogitare. Nec ita multo post edictum Bruti adfertur et Cassi, quod quidem mihi, fortasse quod eos plus etiam rei publicae quam familiaritatis gratia diligo, plenum aequitatis videbatur. Addebant praeterea (fit enim plerumque, ut ii, qui boni quid volunt adferre, adfingant aliquid, quo faciant id, quod nuntiant, laetius) rem conventuram; Kalendis senatum frequentem fore; Antonium repudiatis malis suasoribus remissis provinciis Galliis ad auctoritatem senatus esse rediturum.

[1] Antonius had four legions there.

reason for my return—which has created more surprise. Having—not without cause—avoided Brundisium,[1] and the ordinary route into Greece, I came on the Kalends of Sextilis to Syracuse, since the passage from that city to Greece was well spoken of; and yet that city, though allied to me by the closest ties, could not, though it wished to do so, detain me longer than one night. I feared that my sudden arrival among my friends might cause some suspicion had I stayed. Now the wind having carried me from Sicily to Leucopetra, a promontory of the district of Rhegium, I embarked from that place to cross over; but I had not proceeded so very far when I was blown back to the very place from which I had embarked. It was the dead of the night, and I stayed at the villa of Publius Valerius, an ally and friend of mine; and on the next day, while I remained in the same friend's house waiting for a wind, several townsmen of Rhegium came to me, among them some recently from Rome, from whom I first heard of Marcus Antonius' harangue; and this so pleased me that, when I had read it, I first began to think of return. And not so long after, the edict of Brutus and Cassius arrived, which—perhaps because I esteem them even more on public grounds than because of private friendship—seemed indeed to me abounding in equity. The messengers added besides —for it often happens that those who wish to bring good news invent somewhat to make their message more welcome—that an agreement would be come to; that on the Kalends there would be a full sitting of the Senate: that Antonius would discard his evil advisers, would resign the Gallic provinces, and return to allegiance to the Senate.

9 IV. Tum vero tanta sum cupiditate incensus ad reditum, ut mihi nulli neque remi neque venti satis facerent, non quo me ad tempus occursurum non putarem, sed ne tardius, quam cuperem, rei publicae gratularer. Atque ego celeriter Veliam devectus Brutum vidi, quanto meo dolore, non dico. Turpe mihi ipsi videbatur in eam urbem me audere reverti, ex qua Brutus cederet, et ibi velle tuto esse, ubi ille non posset. Neque vero illum similiter, atque ipse eram, commotum esse vidi. Erectus enim maximi ac pulcherrimi facti sui conscientia nihil de suo casu, multa de vestro quere-
10 batur. Exque eo primum cognovi, quae Kalendis Sextilibus in senatu fuisset L. Pisonis oratio. Qui quamquam parum erat (id enim ipsum a Bruto audieram), a quibus debuerat, adiutus, tamen et Bruti testimonio (quo quid potest esse gravius?) et omnium praedicatione, quos postea vidi, magnam mihi videbatur gloriam consecutus. Hunc igitur ut sequerer, properavi, quem praesentes non sunt secuti, non ut proficerem aliquid (nec enim sperabam id nec praestare poteram), sed ut, si quid mihi humanitus accidisset (multa autem inpendere videntur praeter naturam etiam praeterque fatum), huius tamen diei vocem testem rei publicae relinquerem meae perpetuae erga se voluntatis.

11 Quoniam utriusque consilii causam, patres con-

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[1] The assassination of Caesar.

[2] Gell (13. 1) takes "praeter naturam" as referring to a violent and unexpected death, and, with regard to "praeter fatum," suggests that the words are the Homeric ὑπὲρ μόρον (*e.g.* in *Il.* 2. 155; *Od.* 1. 34), the idea being that the *ordinary* course of fate may be influenced by human conduct, or other event: see Hayman's n. to *Od.* 5. 436; cf. also Suet. *Jul.* 89

IV. Then truly I was fired with such eagerness to return that no oars, no winds were swift enough for me; not that I thought I should not arrive in time; but that my eagerness to congratulate the State might suffer no delay. And then, after a rapid passage to Velia, I saw Brutus—with what sorrow on my part I do not say. To me personally it seemed disgraceful that I should dare to return to that city whence Brutus was departing, and be willing to exist there in safety where he was unable to be. But indeed I did not find him disturbed as I was myself. For, uplifted by the consciousness of his supreme and most noble deed,[1] he made no complaint of his own lot, but much of yours. And from him I first learned what had been Lucius Piso's speech in the Senate on the Kalends of Sextilis. Although he had been little supported—this very fact I had heard from Brutus—by those from whom support was due, yet by the testimony of Brutus—and what can be more weighty than that?—and according to the report of all whom I afterwards saw, he appeared to me to have achieved great glory. I hastened, therefore, to support him whom those present did not support—not that I could do any good: I did not expect that, nor was I able to do any—but in order, if anything that may befall humanity had happened to me—and much seems to be impending even beyond the course of nature and that of destiny[2]—I might leave my voice this day as a witness to the State of my undying good will towards it.

As I trust I have made good to you, Conscript

(of each of Caesar's murderers) "*nec sua morte defunctus est,*" where "*sua*" means ordinary.

scripti, probatam vobis esse confido, priusquam de re publica dicere incipio, pauca querar de hesterna Antoni iniuria; cui sum amicus, idque me non nullo eius officio debere esse prae me semper tuli.

V. Quid tandem erat causae, cur in senatum hesterno die tam acerbe cogerer? Solusne aberam, an non saepe minus frequentes fuistis, an ea res agebatur, ut etiam aegrotos deferri oporteret? Hannibal, credo, erat ad portas, aut de Pyrrhi pace agebatur, ad quam causam etiam Appium illum et caecum et senem delatum esse memoriae proditum
12 est. De supplicationibus referebatur, quo in genere senatores deesse non solent. Coguntur enim non pignoribus, sed eorum, de quorum honore agitur, gratia, quod idem fit, cum de triumpho refertur. Ita sine cura consules sunt, ut paene liberum sit senatori non adesse. Qui cum mihi mos notus esset, cumque e via languerem et mihimet displicerem, misi pro amicitia, qui hoc ei diceret. At ille vobis audientibus cum fabris se domum meam venturum esse dixit. Nimis iracunde hoc quidem et valde intemperanter. Cuius enim maleficii tanta ista poena est, ut dicere in hoc ordine auderet se publicis operis disturbaturum publice ex senatus sententia aedificatam domum? Quis autem umquam tanto damno senatorem coegit,

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[1] A. had spared C.'s life at Brundisium after the battle of Pharsalia.

[2] When a Senator was summoned to the Senate and neglected or refused to attend, something was taken out of his house, and retained till he obeyed; or he could be fined.

[3] On C.'s exile his house on the Palatine was destroyed by his enemy, the tribune Clodius, and the site dedicated to the Goddess Liberty. On his return the State rebuilt it: cf. *Epp. ad Att.* 4. 2.

Fathers, the reason for the two courses I took, I will now, before I begin to speak on public affairs, make a brief complaint of the wrong done me yesterday by Antonius, whose friend I am and, because of certain good offices[1] I owe him, have ever so professed myself.

V. What, I ask you, was the reason why I was in such bitter terms forced into the Senate yesterday? Was I alone absent? or have you not often been in less number? or was the point at issue such that even sick men should have been carried here? Hannibal, I fancy, was at the gates, or a peace with Pyrrhus was at issue, and to that debate history informs us that even Appius was carried when both blind and old. The question in debate was a public thanksgiving, and in such a kind of discussion there is as a rule no lack of Senators. For they are forced to attend, not by securities,[2] but by good-will towards those whose honours are being discussed, and the same thing happens when a triumph is in question. The consuls are so relieved from anxiety that it is almost free to a Senator not to attend. As the practice was known to me, and since I was fatigued after my journey, and indisposed, I sent in a friendly way to inform him of this fact. But he, in your hearing, said he would come to my house with house-breakers—a very angry threat indeed and extremely intemperate. For what offence is there entailing a punishment so severe that he could dare to say in the presence of this body that he would demolish by State workmen a house built at public expense by a decree of the Senate?[3] Who ever by so great a penalty put force upon a Senator? or what penalty is there beyond forfeiture of securities

aut quid est ultra pignus aut multam? Quodsi scisset, quam sententiam dicturus essem, remisisset
13 aliquid profecto de severitate cogendi.

VI. An me censetis, patres conscripti, quod vos inviti secuti estis, decreturum fuisse, ut parentalia cum supplicationibus miscerentur, ut inexpiabiles religiones in rem publicam inducerentur, ut decernerentur supplicationes mortuo? nihil dico, cui. Fuerit ille Brutus, qui et ipse dominatu regio rem publicam liberavit et ad similem virtutem et simile factum stirpem iam prope in quingentesimum annum propagavit; adduci tamen non possem, ut quemquam mortuum coniungerem cum deorum immortalium religione, ut, cuius sepulchrum usquam extet, ubi parentetur, ei publice supplicetur. Ego vero eam sententiam dixissem, ut me adversus populum Romanum, si qui accidisset gravior rei publicae casus, si bellum, si morbus, si fames, facile possem defendere, quae partim iam sunt, partim timeo ne inpendeant. Sed hoc ignoscant di immortales velim et populo Romano, qui id non probat, et huic ordini,
14 qui decrevit invitus.

Quid? de reliquis rei publicae malis licetne dicere? Mihi vero licet et semper licebit dignitatem tueri, mortem contemnere. Potestas modo veniendi in hunc locum sit, dicendi periculum non recuso. Atque utinam, patres conscripti, Kalendis Sextilibus adesse potuissem! non quo

[1] The Parentalia was a public festival in honour of dead relatives, whose spirits (Di Manes) needed propitiation. Offerings were taken to their tombs, and sacrifices made, and the days of the festival were *religiosi*. C.'s argument is that to confuse such a festival addressed to the dead with a thanksgiving for a general's success addressed directly to the Gods involved impiety.

or a fine? But had he known what opinion I was likely to express he would assuredly have relaxed somewhat of the vigour of his enforcement.

VI. Do you think, Conscript Fathers, that I would have supported the decree you unwillingly passed, that a sacrifice in honour of the dead should be confused with thanksgivings? that religious taints incapable of expiation should be introduced into the State? that thanksgivings should be decreed in honour of a dead man? I say not of whom. Let that man be the Brutus who in his own person delivered the State from regal despotism and who well-nigh for five hundred years has left descendants to show similar virtue and to achieve a similar deed; yet I could not have been induced to associate any dead man with the religion of the Immortal Gods so that a public thanksgiving should be made for him while a tomb existed anywhere at which offerings could be made.[1] No! I would have given such a vote as would enable me easily to justify myself to the Roman people if any more serious calamity had happened to the State, war, pestilence, famine—calamities which already exist in part, and in part are, I fear, impending. But for this I pray the Gods may grant their pardon, both to the people which disapproves and to this our body that decreed it unwillingly.

But to resume. Am I permitted to speak of the remaining ills of the State? I permit, and shall always permit, myself to protect my reputation, to despise death. Only let me have the power of coming into this place, the peril of speaking I do not shrink from. And would I had been able, Conscript Fathers, to be present on the Kalends of Sextilis!

profici potuerit aliquid, sed ne unus modo con-
sularis, quod tum accidit, dignus illo honore
dignus re publica inveniretur. Qua quidem ex re
magnum accipio dolorem, homines amplissimis
populi Romani beneficiis usos L. Pisonem ducem
optumae sententiae non secutos. Idcircone nos
populus Romanus consules fecit, ut in altissimo gradu
dignitatis locati rem publicam pro nihilo haberemus?
Non modo voce nemo L. Pisoni consularis, sed ne
15 vultu quidem adsensus est. Quae, malum, est ista
voluntaria servitus? Fuerit quaedam necessaria;
neque ego hoc ab omnibus iis desidero, qui senten-
tiam consulari loco dicunt. Alia causa est eorum,
quorum silentio ignosco, alia eorum, quorum vocem
requiro; quos quidem doleo in suspicionem populo
Romano venire non modo metus, quod ipsum esset
turpe, sed alium alia de causa deesse dignitati
suae.

VII. Quare primum maximas gratias et ago et habeo Pisoni, qui, non quid efficere posset in re publica, cogitavit, sed quid facere ipse deberet. Deinde a vobis, patres conscripti, peto, ut, etiamsi sequi minus audebitis rationem atque auctoritatem meam, benigne me tamen, ut adhuc fecistis, audiatis.

16 Primum igitur acta Caesaris servanda censeo, non quo probem (quis enim id quidem potest?), sed quia rationem habendam maxime arbitror pacis atque

Not that anything could have been effected, but in order that not one consular only—as happened then—might have been found worthy of the honour he held, worthy of the State. It is indeed from this circumstance springs my great grief, that men who had enjoyed the most ample favours of the Roman people did not support Lucius Piso, the mover of a most excellent proposal. Was it for that the Roman people made us consuls, that we, placed on the highest grade of rank, should regard the State as of no account? Not one single consular seconded Lucius Piso by his voice: no, not even by a look. What, the plague upon it! is the meaning of this voluntary slavery? Inevitable I grant it sometimes may be; nor am I making this claim on all those that speak as consulars. The case of those whose silence I pardon is one thing: that of those whose voices I call for is another; and I do regret that these last fall under the suspicion of the Roman people, not only because of fear—which in itself would be base—but because they have fallen short—some for one reason, some for another—of what their rank requires.

VII. Accordingly, first of all I express and entertain the deepest gratitude to Piso, who did not think of what he could accomplish in the State, but of what he himself was bound to do. Next I ask of you, Conscript Fathers, even although you will not venture to support what I say and advise, yet to hear me with kindness, as hitherto you have done.

First of all, then, I think the acts of Caesar should be recognised; not that I approve them—for who indeed can do that?—but because I hold that special regard should be paid to peace and quiet. I would

otii. Vellem adesset M. Antonius, modo sine advocatis. Sed, ut opinor, licet ei minus valere, quod mihi heri per illum non licuit. Doceret me vel potius vos, patres conscripti, quem ad modum ipse Caesaris acta defenderet. An in commentariolis et chirographis et libellis se uno auctore prolatis, ac ne prolatis quidem, sed tantum modo dictis, acta Caesaris firma erunt; quae ille in aes incidit, in quo populi iussa perpetuasque leges esse voluit, pro nihilo
17 habebuntur? Equidem existimo nihil tam esse in actis Caesaris quam leges Caesaris. An, si cui quid ille promisit, id erit fixum, quod idem facere non potuit? ut multis multa promissa non fecit, quae tamen multo plura illo mortuo reperta sunt quam a vivo beneficia per omnis annos tributa et data.

Sed ea non muto, non moveo; summo studio illius praeclara acta defendo. Pecunia utinam ad Opis maneret! cruenta illa quidem, sed his temporibus, quoniam iis, quorum est, non redditur, necessaria. Quamquam ea quoque sit effusa, si ita in actis fuit.
18 Ecquid est, quod tam proprie dici possit actum eius, qui togatus in re publica cum potestate imperioque versatus sit, quam lex? Quaere acta Gracchi; leges Semproniae proferentur; quaere Sullae; Corneliae. Quid? Pompei tertius consulatus in quibus actis

that Marcus Antonius were present, without his backers, however. But I suppose he is allowed to be unwell; a privilege he did not allow me yesterday. He would explain to me, or rather to you, Conscript Fathers, how he himself defended Caesar's acts. Is it as contained in small note-books and memoranda, and papers, produced on his single authority, and not even produced, but only quoted, that the acts of Caesar are to be ratified; and those that Caesar engraved on brass, on which he wished the commands and permanent laws of the Roman people to be preserved—shall these go for nothing? As for myself, I think that nothing can be so entirely part of the acts of Caesar as the laws of Caesar. If he made a promise to any man, shall that be unchangeable which that same Caesar had not the power to fulfil? He made many promises to many men and did not fulfil them; and yet, now that he is dead, promises have been discovered far more numerous than the benefits conferred and given by him during all the years he was alive.

But I am not changing, not disturbing these: with the greatest eagerness I defend his noble acts. Would that the money remained in the Temple of Ops! Blood-stained it was, no doubt, but to-day, as it cannot be restored to its owners, absolutely needed. However, let its squandering pass, if it was prescribed in the acts. Is there anything that can be called so peculiarly the act of the man who, although a civilian in the State, was invested with power both military and civil, as a law? Enquire of the acts of Gracchus: the Sempronian laws will be brought forward; enquire of the acts of Sulla: the Cornelian. Again: the third consulship of

constitit? Nempe in legibus. De Caesare ipso si quaereres, quidnam egisset in urbe et in toga, leges multas responderet se et praeclaras tulisse, chirographa vero aut mutaret aut non daret aut, si dedisset, non istas res in actis suis duceret. Sed haec ipsa concedo; quibusdam etiam in rebus coniveo; in maximis vero rebus, id est in legibus, acta Caesaris dissolvi ferendum non puto.

VIII. Quae lex melior, utilior, optima etiam re
19 publica saepius flagitata, quam ne praetoriae provinciae plus quam annum neve plus quam biennium consulares optinerentur? Hac lege sublata videnturne vobis posse Caesaris acta servari? Quid? lege, quae promulgata est de tertia decuria, nonne omnes iudiciariae leges Caesaris dissolvuntur? Et vos acta Caesaris defenditis, qui leges eius evertitis? Nisi forte, si quid memoriae causa rettulit in libellum, id numerabitur in actis et, quamvis iniquum et inutile sit, defendetur; quod ad populum centuriatis comitiis tulit, id in actis Caesaris non habebitur.

At quae ista tertia decuria? "Centurionum,"
20 inquit. Quid? isti ordini iudicatus lege Iulia, etiam ante Pompeia, Aurelia non patebat? "Census praefiniebatur," inquit. Non centurioni quidem solum, sed equiti etiam Romano; itaque viri for-

[1] C. confined the jury-panel to the Senators and the knights. The third panel proposed was to consist of centurions, and even of privates of the Legio Alauda. Cf. n. 1 on p. 40.

Pompeius—of what acts was that made up? Of course of his laws. If you were to enquire of Caesar himself what were his acts in the city and as a civilian, he would reply that he had introduced many excellent laws; but his memoranda he would either alter, or would not produce, or if he had produced them he would not regard them as among his acts. But these points I concede: at some I even connive; but in respect of the most important things, that is, his laws, I think it intolerable the acts of Caesar should be rescinded.

VIII. What better law was there, what more useful, what more often demanded in the best period of the republic, than that the praetorian provinces should not be held longer than a year, nor consular longer than two years? If this law be done away with, do you imagine that Caesar's acts can be preserved? Again: are not all Caesar's judicature laws [1] rescinded by the bill touching the third jury-panel which has been advertised? And do you defend the acts of Caesar, you that upset his laws? Unless perhaps if he put down anything in a note-book to assist his memory, that will be counted among his acts, and—however unfair and useless it may be—will be defended, but what he proposed to the people at the Comitia of Centuries will not be regarded as among the acts of Caesar.

But what is that third panel? "Of centurions," he says. What? were not judicial functions open to that class by the Julian law, also before that by the Pompeian, by the Aurelian? "A property qualification was prescribed," he says. But not for a centurion alone, also for a Roman knight; accordingly men of the greatest valour and integrity who

tissimi atque honestissimi, qui ordines duxerunt, res et iudicant et iudicaverunt. "Non quaero," inquit, "istos. Quicumque ordinem duxit, iudicet." At si ferretis, quicumque equo meruisset, quod est lautius, nemini probaretis; in iudice enim spectari et fortuna debet et dignitas. "Non quaero," inquit, "ista; addo etiam iudices manipularis ex legione Alaudarum; aliter enim nostri negant posse se salvos esse." O contumeliosum honorem iis, quos ad iudicandum nec opinantis vocatis! Hic enim est legis index, ut ii res in tertia decuria iudicent, qui libere iudicare non audeant. In quo quantus error est, di immortales, eorum, qui istam legem excogitaverunt! Ut enim quisque sordidissimus videbitur, ita libentissime severitate iudicandi sordes suas eluet laborabitque, ut honestis decuriis potius dignus videatur quam in turpem iure coniectus.

21 IX. Altera promulgata lex est, ut et de vi et maiestatis damnati ad populum provocent, si velint. Haec utrum tandem lex est an legum omnium dissolutio? Quis est enim hodie, cuius intersit istam legem manere? Nemo reus est legibus illis, nemo, quem futurum putemus. Armis enim gesta numquam profecto in iudicium vocabuntur. At res popularis. Utinam quidem aliquid velletis esse populare! Omnes enim iam cives de rei publicae salute una et

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[1] A legion raised in Transalpine Gaul by J. Caesar, and called by the Gaulish name of *Alauda* (lark) from a plume on the helmet like a lark's crest.

[2] The Leges Juliae of the dictator Caesar against riot and treason respectively.

have been in command still act as judges and have hitherto acted. "Those are not the men I am looking for," he says: "let every one that has been in command act as judge." But if you were to propose that every one who had served as a knight —a higher qualification—should act as judge, you would convince nobody; for in the case of a judge both fortune and worth ought to be looked to. "I am not asking for such qualifications," he says; "I even add as judges privates of the legion of The Larks;[1] for otherwise our adherents say they cannot be safe." What an insulting honour for those whom to their surprise you summon to the judgment seat! For the meaning of the law is this, that those should be judges on the third panel who dare not judge with independence. And here what a blunder, ye Immortal Gods! have the devisers of this law committed! For the more discreditable any man's reputation shall be, so the more readily will he wipe off his discredit by severity of decision, and will strive to appear to be worthy of inclusion in honest panels rather than as rightly flung into a disgraceful one.

IX. A second law has been advertised, that persons convicted of riot and treason should appeal to the people if they will. I ask you, is this a law or a rescission of all laws? For who is there to-day concerned that that law should remain? There is no one now accused under those laws,[2] no one we think is likely to be; for things done by men in arms will doubtless never be brought into court. "But the proposal is a popular one." Would to Heaven you contemplated something that is popular! For all citizens are now agreed in mind and voice

mente et voce consentiunt. Quae est igitur ista cupiditas legis eius ferendae, quae turpitudinem summam habeat, gratiam nullam? Quid enim turpius quam, qui maiestatem populi Romani minuerit per vim, eum damnatum iudicio ad eam ipsam vim
22 reverti, propter quam sit iure damnatus? Sed quid plura de lege disputo? Quasi vero id agatur, ut quisquam provocet; id agitur, id fertur, ne quis omnino umquam istis legibus reus fiat. Quis enim aut accusator tam amens reperietur, qui reo condemnato obicere se multitudini conductae velit, aut iudex, qui reum damnare audeat ut ipse ad operas mercennarias statim protrahatur?

Non igitur provocatio ista lege datur, sed duae maxime salutares leges quaestionesque tolluntur. Quid est aliud hortari adulescentes, ut turbulenti, ut seditiosi, ut perniciosi cives velint esse? Quam autem ad pestem furor tribunicius impelli non poterit his duabus quaestionibus de vi et maiestatis sublatis?
23 Quid, quod obrogatur legibus Caesaris, quae iubent ei, qui de vi, itemque ei, qui maiestatis damnatus sit, aqua et igni interdici? quibus cum provocatio datur, nonne acta Caesaris rescinduntur? Quae quidem ego, patres conscripti, qui illa numquam probavi, tamen ita conservanda concordiae causa arbitratus sum, ut non modo, quas vivus leges Caesar tulisset, infirmandas hoc tempore non putarem, sed ne illas

about the safety of the State. What means then that eagerness of yours to propose a law which involves the greatest disgrace and no gratitude? For what can be more disgraceful than that a man who has by violence committed treason against the Roman people, and been convicted, should then resort to that very violence for which he was by law convicted? But why do I argue any more about the law? As if forsooth its object were appeal! its object, and your proposal, is that no one at all should ever be accused under those laws. For who —if he be prosecutor—will be found so mad as to be willing by the conviction of an accused to expose himself to a hired crowd? or—if he be juryman— as to dare to convict an accused man at the price of being himself at once haled before a gang of suborned labourers?

No! it is not an appeal that is granted by that law: rather are two very salutary laws and courts abolished. What else is this than to urge young men to be turbulent, seditious, pernicious citizens? And to what ruinous lengths may not the frenzy of tribunes be impelled when these two courts as to riot and treason have been abolished? And what of this, that those laws of Caesar's are in part altered which declare that he who is convicted of riot, and also he who is convicted of treason, shall be refused water and fire? when an appeal is given to such men, are not the acts of Caesar annulled? Those acts indeed, Conscript Fathers, though I never approved them, I have thought should be so carefully maintained for the sake of peace that I disagreed with the annulment of his laws, not only of those he had proposed in his lifetime, but even of those

quidem, quas post mortem Caesaris prolatas esse et fixas videtis.

24 X. De exilio reducti a mortuo, civitas data non solum singulis, sed nationibus et provinciis universis a mortuo, inmunitatibus infinitis sublata vectigalia a mortuo. Ergo haec uno, verum optimo auctore domo prolata defendimus; eas leges, quas ipse nobis inspectantibus recitavit, pronuntiavit, tulit, quibus latis gloriabatur eisque legibus rem publicam contineri putabat, de provinciis, de iudiciis, eas, inquam, Caesaris leges nos, qui defendimus acta Caesaris,
25 evertendas putamus? Ac de his tamen legibus, quae promulgatae sunt, saltem queri possumus; de iis, quae iam latae dicuntur, ne illud quidem licuit; illae enim sine ulla promulgatione latae sunt ante quam scriptae.

Quaero autem, quid sit, cur aut ego aut quisquam vestrum, patres conscripti, bonis tribunis plebi leges malas metuat. Paratos habemus, qui intercedant, paratos, qui rem publicam religione defendant; vacui metu esse debemus. "Quas tu mihi," inquit, "intercessiones, quas religiones?" Eas scilicet, quibus rei publicae salus continetur. "Neglegimus ista et nimis antiqua ac stulta ducimus; forum saepietur, omnes claudentur aditus, armati in praesidiis multis
26 locis collocabuntur." Quid tum? quod ita erit gestum, id lex erit, et in aes incidi iubebitis, credo,

[1] Persons benefited in this way gained the sarcastic nickname of Orcini (liegemen of Death), or Charonitae (Charon's crew).

[2] Proposed legislation can at least be complained of; not so laws stated by A. to have been already passed by Caesar.

[3] Here follows a supposed argument between A., or his partisans, and the Senate.

which you see brought forward and posted after Caesar's death.

X Men have been brought back from exile by a dead man; citizenship has been given, not only to individuals, but to whole tribes and provinces by a dead man;[1] by boundless exemptions revenues have been done away with by a dead man. So then these proposals, produced from his house on the authority —excellent no doubt—of a single man, we defend; those laws which Caesar himself in our presence read, published and proposed, and in the proposal of which he exulted, and in which he thought the safety of the State was involved, laws concerning provinces, concerning courts—those laws of Caesar, I say, do we, who defend Caesar's acts, think should be upset? And yet of those which were published we can at least complain: concerning those that are said to have been already passed we have not had even that power; for they were passed without any publication before they were drafted.[2]

But I ask why should I or any of you, Conscript Fathers, fear bad laws while we have good tribunes of the people? We have men ready to interpose their veto; men ready to defend the State by the sanctity of their office: we ought to be free from fear.[3] "What vetoes," he says, "what sanctities are you telling me of?" Those of course in which the safety of the State is involved. "We disregard all that, and think it quite out of date and foolish; the Forum will be fenced in: all approaches will be closed: armed men will be stationed on guard at many points." What then? What is transacted in this manner will be law, and you, I suppose, will order to be engraved on brass those legal formulae

illa legitima: Consules populum iure rogaverunt (hocine a maioribus accepimus ius rogandi?), populusque iure scivit. Qui populus? isne, qui exclusus est? Quo iure? an eo, quod vi et armis omne sublatum est? Atque haec dico de futuris, quod est amicorum ante dicere ea, quae vitari possint; quae si facta non erunt, refelletur oratio mea. Loquor de legibus promulgatis, de quibus est integrum vobis; demonstro vitia; tollite; denuntio vim, arma; removete.

27 XI. Irasci quidem vos mihi, Dolabella, pro re publica dicenti non oportebit. Quamquam te quidem id facturum non arbitror (novi facilitatem tuam); collegam tuum aiunt in hac sua fortuna, quae bona ipsi videtur, (mihi, ne gravius quippiam dicam, avorum et avunculi sui consulatum si imitaretur, fortunatior videretur)—sed eum iracundum audio esse factum. Video autem, quam sit odiosum habere eundem iratum et armatum, cum tanta praesertim gladiorum sit impunitas. Sed proponam ius, ut opinor, aequum; quod M. Antonium non arbitror repudiaturum. Ego, si quid in vitam eius aut in mores cum contumelia dixero, quo minus mihi inimicissimus sit, non recusabo; sin consuetudinem meam [quam in re publica semper habui] tenuero, id est si libere, quae sentiam de re publica, dixero, primum deprecor, ne irascatur, deinde, si hoc non impetro, peto, ut sic irascatur ut civi. Armis utatur,

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[1] C. warns A. and Dol. (though the event may prove his warning unnecessary) against violence and illegality in passing future legislation.

[2] Antonius.

"The consuls rightfully put the question to the people"—is this the right of putting the question we have received from our ancestors?—"and the people rightfully assented." What people? That which was shut out? By what right? By that which was wholly abolished by armed violence? And here I speak of the future—it is the part of friends to say beforehand what can be avoided; if this does not occur my speech will be refuted. I speak of the laws that have been advertised: concerning these you have a free hand; I show you their faults: remove them; I denounce armed violence: prevent it.[1]

XI. You consuls, Dolabella, must not be angry with me, as I speak on behalf of the State. You yourself, however, I do not think will be so: I know your easy temper; but they say that your colleague,[2] with his present fortune which he himself thinks good (to me—not to put it more harshly—he would appear more fortunate if he copied the consulships of his grandfather and of his maternal uncle)—he, however, I hear, is angry. And I see how uncomfortable it is to have a man angry and also armed, especially when swordsmen enjoy such great impunity. But I will make a proposal, a fair one, I think: I do not imagine Marcus Antonius will reject it. For myself, if I say anything insulting against his life or his character, I will not object to his becoming my most bitter enemy; but if I hold by my constant practice, that is, if I speak freely my opinions on public affairs, first of all I deprecate his anger; secondly, if I fail here, I beg him to be angry with me as with a fellow-citizen. Let him employ an armed guard if it be necessary, as he

si ita necesse est, ut dicit, sui defendendi causa; iis, qui pro re publica, quae ipsis visa erunt, dixerint, ista arma ne noceant. Quid hac postulatione dici potest
28 aequius? Quodsi, ut mihi a quibusdam eius familiaribus dictum est, omnis eum, quae habetur contra voluntatem eius, oratio graviter offendit, etiamsi nulla inest contumelia, feremus amici naturam. Sed idem illi ita mecum locuntur: "Non idem tibi adversario Caesaris licebit quod Pisoni socero," et simul admonent quiddam, quod cavebimus: nec erit iustior in senatum non veniendi morbi causa quam mortis.

29 XII. Sed per deos immortalis!—te enim intuens, Dolabella, [qui es mihi carissimus,][1] non possum utriusque vestrum errorem reticere. Credo enim vos nobiles homines magna quaedam spectantes non pecuniam, ut quidam nimis creduli suspicantur, quae semper ab amplissimo quoque clarissimoque contempta est, non opes violentas et populo Romano minime ferendam potentiam, sed caritatem civium et gloriam concupivisse. Est autem gloria laus recte factorum magnorumque in rem publicam meritorum,
30 quae cum optimi cuiusque, tum etiam multitudinis testimonio comprobatur. Dicerem, Dolabella, qui recte factorum fructus esset, nisi te praeter ceteros paulisper esse expertum viderem.

Quem potes recordari in vita inluxisse tibi diem laetiorem, quam cum expiato foro, dissipato concursu

[1] The bracketed words are added by a second scribe in the Vat. MS.

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[1] *i.e.* if C.'s life is threatened he may with good excuse be absent from the Senate.

[2] By the destruction of the column raised to Caesar's memory.

says, for self-defence; but do not let that guard hurt those who express their own opinions on behalf of the State. What can be said fairer than this demand? But if, as has been told me by some of his intimates, every speech made in contravention of his wishes gravely offends him, even though there is no insult in it, then we will put up with the idiosyncrasy of a friend. But those same gentlemen of his say this to me, "You, as an opponent of Caesar, will not be allowed the same licence as Piso, his father-in-law"; and at the same time they give me a word of caution, which I shall attend to; nor will indisposition afford a more legitimate excuse for absence from the Senate than death.[1]

XII. But in Heaven's name! For as I look at you, Dolabella, who are my very dear friend, I cannot be silent as to the mistake you both are making. I believe that you both, men of honour, with great aspirations, have not, as some too credulous persons suspect, craved for money, which has always been despised by every man of the highest station and reputation, not for wealth obtained by violence, and power unendurable by the Roman people, but for the affection of your fellow-citizens and for glory. Now glory is praise won by honourable deeds, and great services towards the State, a thing that is approved alike by the testimony of every honest man, and also by that of the multitude. I would tell you, Dolabella, what was the reward of honourable deeds, did I not see that you above all other men had for a time realized it.

What day can you recall in life that shone upon you more joyously than that in which, when the Forum had been purged,[2] the concourse of impious

impiorum, principibus sceleris poena adfectis [,urbe incendio et caedis metu liberata] te domum recepisti? Cuius ordinis, cuius generis, cuius denique fortunae studia tum laudi et gratulationi tuae se non optulerunt? Quin mihi etiam, quo auctore te in his rebus uti arbitrabantur, et gratias boni viri agebant et tuo nomine gratulabantur. Recordare, quaeso, Dolabella, consensum illum theatri, cum omnes earum rerum obliti, propter quas fuerant tibi offensi, significarent se beneficio novo memoriam veteris doloris abiecisse.
31 Hanc tu, P. Dolabella, (magno loquor cum dolore) hanc tu, inquam, potuisti aequo animo tantam dignitatem deponere?

XIII. Tu autem, M. Antoni, (absentem enim appello) unum illum diem, quo in aede Telluris senatus fuit, non omnibus his mensibus, quibus te quidam multum a me dissentientes beatum putant, anteponis? Quae fuit oratio de concordia! quanto metu senatus, quanta sollicitudine civitas tum a te liberata est, cum collegam tuum depositis inimicitiis oblitus auspiciorum a te ipso augure populi Romani nuntiatorum illo primum die conlegam tibi esse voluisti, tuus parvus filius in Capitolium a te missus
32 pacis obses fuit! Quo senatus die laetior, quo populus Romanus? qui quidem nulla in contione umquam frequentior fuit. Tum denique liberati per viros

[1] On March 17.

[2] By which, as augur, he declared Dolabella's election to the consulship invalid: *Phil.* ii. 32.

[3] With Caesar's assassins; cf. Intr. p. 8.

wretches scattered, the ringleaders of the crime punished, the city delivered from burning and the fear of massacre, you betook yourself home? What rank was there, what family, in short what fortune, whose enthusiasm did not thrust itself forward to praise and congratulate you? Nay, more: to me too, whose prompting they thought you had followed in these affairs, good men returned their thanks and congratulated me in your name. Recall, I ask you, Dolabella, that unanimous applause in the theatre when all men, forgetting those things for which they had been hostile to you, made it plain that, because of your late services, they had cast away the memory of their ancient pain. And with such a title to fame, to think that you, P. Dolabella—I say it with great pain—that you, I say, had been able to lay it aside without emotion!

XIII. And you, Marcus Antonius—for I appeal to you though you are not here—do you not set that one day, in which the Senate met in the Temple of Tellus,[1] higher than all these months during which some—much disagreeing with me—account you fortunate? What a speech you made on unity! from what dread of past evils, from what anxiety was the State then freed by you, when, laying aside animosities, forgetting the auspices[2] announced by you yourself, as augur of the Roman people, you first consented that your colleague should be your colleague, when your little son was sent by you into the Capitol as a hostage of peace![3] On what day was the Senate more joyful? on what day was the Roman people? which was never at any public assembly gathered in greater numbers. Then at last it did seem we had achieved liberty through most heroic

fortissimos videbamur, quia, ut illi voluerant, libertatem pax consequebatur. Proximo, altero, tertio, denique reliquis consecutis diebus non intermittebas quasi donum aliquod cotidie adferre rei publicae, maximum autem illud, quod dictaturae nomen sustulisti. Haec inusta est a te, a te, inquam, mortuo Caesari nota ad ignominiam sempiternam. Ut enim propter unius M. Manli scelus decreto gentis Manliae neminem patricium Manlium Marcum vocari licet, sic tu propter unius dictatoris odium nomen dictatoris funditus sustulisti. Num te, cum haec pro salute
33 rei publicae tanta gessisses, fortunae tuae, num amplitudinis, num claritatis, num gloriae paenitebat? Unde igitur subito tanta ista mutatio? Non possum adduci, ut suspicer te pecunia captum. Licet, quod cuique libet, loquatur, credere non est necesse. Nihil enim umquam in te sordidum, nihil humile cognovi. Quamquam solent domestici depravare non numquam; sed novi firmitatem tuam. Atque utinam ut culpam, sic etiam suspicionem vitare potuisses!

XIV. Illud magis vereor, ne ignorans verum iter gloriae gloriosum putes plus te unum posse quam omnes et metui a civibus tuis.[1] Quod si ita putas, totam ignoras viam gloriae. Carum esse civem, bene de re publica mereri, laudari, coli, diligi gloriosum est; metui vero et in odio esse invidiosum, detestabile, inbecillum, caducum. Quod videmus etiam in

[1] Some MSS. add here *quam diligi malis*, probably a copyist's addition.

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[1] Caesar's assassins.

men,[1] for, even as they had wished, in the train of liberty came peace. On the next day, on the second, on the third, finally on all the remaining days—you let none pass without conferring daily some boon as it were on the State; and, beyond them all, your abolishing the title of dictator. That was the mark with which you, you, I say, branded the name of dead Caesar to his everlasting infamy. For, as on account of the crime of one Marcus Manlius it is by the decree of the Manlian clan unlawful for any patrician Manlius to be called Marcus, so you, on account of the hatred felt for one dictator, have utterly abolished the title of dictator. Did you, after these great achievements for the safety of the State, regret your fortune, your distinction, your renown, your glory? Whence therefore came suddenly that great change? I cannot be brought to suspect you had been seduced by greed. Every man may say what he likes: we need not believe him. For I have never recognised in you anything sordid, anything mean. Sometimes, no doubt, those of his own household[2] corrupt a man; but I know your strength of will. And would that, with guilt, you had been able also to avoid suspicion!

XIV. What I more fear is this—that, blind to glory's true path, you may think it glorious to possess in your single self more power than all, and to be feared by your fellow-citizens. If you think so, you are totally blind to the true way of glory. To be a citizen dear to all, to deserve well of the State, to be praised, courted, loved, is glorious; but to be feared and an object of hatred is invidious, detestable, a proof of weakness and decay. We see

[2] A covert allusion to Fulvia, his wife.

34 fabula illi ipsi, qui 'Oderint, dum metuant' dixerit, perniciosum fuisse. Utinam, M. Antoni, avum tuum meminisses! de quo tamen audisti multa ex me, eaque saepissime. Putasne illum immortalitatem mereri voluisse, ut propter armorum habendorum licentiam metueretur? Illa erat vita, illa secunda fortuna, libertate esse parem ceteris, principem dignitate. Itaque, ut omittam res avi tui prosperas, acerbissimum eius supremum diem malim quam L. Cinnae dominatum, a quo ille crudelissime est interfectus.

35 Sed quid oratione te flectam? Si enim exitus C. Caesaris efficere non potest, ut malis carus esse quam metui, nihil cuiusquam proficiet nec valebit oratio. Quem qui beatum fuisse putant, miseri ipsi sunt. Beatus est nemo, qui ea lege vivit, ut non modo inpune, sed etiam cum summa interfectoris gloria interfici possit. Quare flecte te, quaeso, et maiores tuos respice atque ita guberna rem publicam, ut natum esse te cives tui gaudeant, sine quo nec beatus nec clarus nec tutus[1] quisquam esse omnino potest.

XV. Populi quidem Romani iudicia multa ambo
36 habetis; quibus vos non satis moveri permoleste fero. Quid enim? gladiatoribus clamores innumerabilium civium, quid? populi versus, quid? Pompei statuae plausus infiniti, quid? duobus tribunis pl., qui vobis adversantur, parumne haec significant incredibiliter consentientem populi Romani universi

[1] *Unctus* (Vat.); *tutus* (Muretus).

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[1] The quotation (a favourite one of the Emperor Caligula: Suet. *Cal.* 30), is from the *Atreus* of Accius.

this even in the play: the very man who said "Let them hate, so that they fear," found that it was fatal.[1] Would, Marcus Antonius, you had remembered your grandfather! though of him you have heard much from me, and that very often. Do you think that he would have wished to earn immortality by being feared for his ability to keep an armed guard? To him life, to him prosperous fortune, was equality in liberty with the rest, the first place in honour. Accordingly, to say nothing of your grandfather's good fortunes, I would prefer that last most bitter day of his life to the domination of Lucius Cinna, by whom he was most cruelly slain.

But how shall I turn you by what I say? For if the end of Caius Caesar cannot induce you to prefer affection to fear, no words of any man will either profit or prevail. Those that think he was happy are themselves wretched. No one is happy who holds his life on such terms that he may be slain, not only with impunity, but even to the greatest glory of his slayer. Wherefore turn, I pray you, and look back on your ancestors, and so direct the State that your fellow-citizens may rejoice that you were born: without that it is wholly impossible for any man to be happy, or illustrious, or safe.

XV. As to the Roman people you both have before you many judgments: that you are not sufficiently influenced by them I am much concerned. For what mean the shouts of numberless citizens at the gladiatorial shows? what mean the popular broadsheets? what the unbounded applause bestowed on the statue of Pompeius? on the two tribunes of the commons who oppose you? are these only a slight indication of the wondrous unanimity of the temper

voluntatem? Quid? Apollinarium ludorum plausus vel testimonia potius et iudicia populi Romani parum magna vobis videbantur? O beatos illos, qui, cum adesse ipsis propter vim armorum non licebat, aderant tamen et in medullis populi Romani ac visceribus haerebant! Nisi forte Accio tum plaudi et sexagesimo post anno palmam dari, non Bruto putabatis, qui ludis suis ita caruit, ut in illo apparatissimo spectaculo studium populus Romanus tribueret absenti, desiderium liberatoris sui perpetuo plausu et clamore leniret.

37 Equidem is sum, qui istos plausus, cum popularibus civibus tribuerentur, semper contempserim; idemque, cum a summis, mediis, infimis, cum denique ab universis hoc idem fit, cumque ii, qui ante sequi populi consensum solebant, fugiunt, non plausum illum, sed iudicium puto. Sin haec leviora vobis videntur, quae sunt gravissima, num etiam hoc contemnitis, quod sensistis, tam caram populo Romano vitam A. Hirti fuisse? Satis erat enim probatum illum esse populo Romano, ut est, iucundum amicis, in quo vincit omnis, carum suis, quibus est ipse carissimus; tantam tamen sollicitudinem bonorum, tantum timorem omnium in quo meminimus? Certe
38 in nullo. Quid igitur? hoc vos, per deos immortalis! quale sit, non interpretamini? Quid? eos de vestra vita cogitare non censetis, quibus eorum,

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1 Yet C. says (*Epp. ad Att.* xvi. 2) he would have preferred that the Romans used their hands in defending the State than in applause.

2 Brutus, who as Urban Praetor should have presided; Cassius, and the other opponents of Caesar.

3 The play was the *Tereus* of Accius; Cic. *Epp. ad Att.* xvi. 2. 3.

4 The consul elect for the next year, 43 B.C.

of the whole Roman people? Again: did the applause bestowed on the Apollinarian games, or rather the testimony and judgment of the Roman people,[1] appear to you an insignificant thing? Oh, how happy were they who,[2] unable through force of arms to be present in person, yet were present, seated in the hearts and inmost affections of the Roman people! But perhaps you thought it was Accius[3] that was applauded and sixty years afterwards awarded the prize, and not Brutus—not the man to whom, though not present at the games he himself exhibited, the Roman people in that most elaborate spectacle were yet paying the tribute of their zeal in his absence, and soothing their regret for their liberator with continued applause and shouts.

I indeed am one that always despised such applause when awarded to popularity-hunting citizens: at the same time, when it comes from the highest, from the middle, from the lowest grade, when in a word it comes universally, and when those, that before were wont to follow the popular verdict, stand aside, I do not regard it as applause, but as a judgment. But if this seem to you trifling—it is very important—do you also count it as petty to have learned how dear to the Roman people was the life of Aulus Hirtius?[4] For it were enough to be, as he is, esteemed by the Roman people; to be, beyond all others, the delight of his friends; to be dear, as he is very dear to his kinsfolk; but in the case of what man do we recall such anxiety among the good, such universal apprehension? Certainly in none. What then? By the Immortal Gods! do you not decipher the meaning of this? Again: think you they do not reflect on the doings of your

quos sperant rei publicae consulturos, vita tam cara sit?

Cepi fructum, patres conscripti, reversionis meae,
39 quoniam et ea dixi, ut, quicumque casus consecutus esset, extaret constantiae meae testimonium, et sum a vobis benigne ac diligenter auditus. Quae potestas si mihi saepius sine meo vestroque periculo fiet, utar; si minus, quantum potero, non tam mihi me quam rei publicae reservabo. Mihi fere satis est, quod vixi, vel ad aetatem vel ad gloriam; huc si quid accesserit, non tam mihi quam vobis reique publicae accesserit.

lives, when lives which they hope will serve the State are so dear to them?

I have reaped the reward, Conscript Fathers, of my return in that I have both made these remarks, so that, whatever might hereafter befall, there might survive some evidence of my constancy, and in that I have been kindly and attentively heard. This opportunity, if it be further given to me without peril to myself and to you, I will use; if not, I will, to the best of my power, hold myself at call, not so much for my own sake as for the State's. For myself, the time past of my life is well-nigh enough, whether for years or for fame: should that life be lengthened, it will be lengthened not so much for myself, but for you, and for the commonwealth.

INTRODUCTION TO PHILIPPIC II

After the delivery by Cicero on the 2nd of September of the first Philippic, Antonius, as Cicero says (*Phil.* 5. 7), "threatened him with his enmity, and commanded him to be present in the Senate on the 19th." The intervening time Antonius spent in Scipio's villa at Tibur in getting up his reply. On the 19th he came into the Temple of Concord, as Cicero says (*Phil.* 5. 7), "in battle array." The orator was himself not present, for, as he declares in the same speech, "if his friends had allowed him to attend, Antonius would have begun a massacre with him, for so he had determined." Antonius' speech was a furious tirade, a speech in which, as Cicero writes to Cassius (*ad Fam.* 12. 2), "he seemed to all men to be, in his usual fashion, rather spewing than speaking." He charged Cicero with "the murder of the Catilinarians, the assassination of Clodius, the rupture between Caesar and Pompey. This invective strove to unite against him every faction in the State; and, above all, it denounced him to the veterans as the real contriver of their hero's destruction": Mer. *Rom. Rep.* c. 15; see also the letter to Cassius. "He poured all his drunken frenzy on my single head," writes Cicero to Cornificius (*ad Fam.* 12. 25), "but I cast him, belching and full of nausea, into the toils of Caesar Octavianus."

In October Cicero retired to the country, and composed the famous second Philippic. It purports to be an immediate reply to Antonius on Sept. 19;

but it was, in fact, never spoken, being published about the end of November before the delivery of the third and fourth Philippics, when Antonius had left Rome for Cisalpine Gaul. In the meantime it had been submitted in draft to the criticism of Atticus (*ad Att.* 16. 11), and had been handed round among Cicero's friends.

It consists of two divisions, one defensive (cc. 2–17), in which Cicero replies to Antonius' charges; and the other offensive, a scathing denunciation of Antonius' private and public life since boyhood. The orator had now flung down before Antonius the gage of battle: the issue in future was the life of Antonius or his own. The Fates decided against him. On the formation of the Second Triumvirate, "one of the basest compacts was made that was ever entered into by men," whereby victims were reciprocally surrendered to the enmity of the others, and in accordance therewith Cicero was surrendered to the fury of Antonius by Octavian, the man who had addressed Cicero as "his father." Put upon the proscription lists, he was murdered at Caieta on December 7, 43 B.C., by one C. Popilius Laenas, a man whom the great advocate had successfully defended on a criminal charge, and who yet, with the basest ingratitude, had, according to Valerius Maximus (5. 3. 4), solicited from Antonius the execution of the murder.[1] For this he is said to have received, in addition to the advertised reward, the

[1] Dio (47. 11) adds a curious detail. "In order to win the credit of the murder, not merely by report, but by visual presentment, he placed his own bust near Cicero's head with a wreath on it, and an inscription stating his name and his achievement."

sum of 250,000 Attic drachmas, or, in English money, over £8,000. "To blacken this monster," says the historian, "written words are weak." It required, as he says, another Cicero.

The speech has, in all times and countries, been regarded as a masterpiece of eloquence and invective.[1] Juvenal's reference to it (10. 120–6) is well known:—

"The hand[2] of Genius, and the head, was lopped:
No puny pleader's blood hath e'er besprent
The Tribune. 'O Rome, in thy natal date
Fortunate when I was Consul!' Had his speech
Been all alike to this, he might have scorned
The swords of Antony.[3] Give me the poems
That stir men's laughter rather than thy charm
Pre-eminent, divine Philippic, next
After the first unrolled!"

[1] The invective is undoubted, but some readers may think that it degenerates not seldom into mere scolding. And of eloquence the speech (apart from the peroration) contains no such fine passages as are found in some of the other Philippics.

[2] Because it had written the second Philippic.

[3] An allusion to the orator's own words (*Phil.* ii. 46): "Contempsi Catilinae gladios: non pertimescam tuos."

M. TULLI CICERONIS IN M. ANTONIUM ORATIO PHILIPPICA SECUNDA

1 I. Quonam meo fato, patres conscripti, fieri dicam, ut nemo his annis viginti rei publicae fuerit hostis, qui non bellum eodem tempore mihi quoque indixerit? Nec vero necesse est quemquam a me nominari; vobiscum ipsi recordamini. Mihi poenarum illi plus, quam optaram, dederunt; te miror, Antoni, quorum facta imitere, eorum exitus non perhorrescere. Atque hoc in aliis minus mirabar. Nemo enim illorum inimicus mihi fuit voluntarius, omnes a me rei publicae causa lacessiti. Tu ne verbo quidem violatus, ut audacior quam Catilina, furiosior quam Clodius viderere, ultro me maledictis lacessisti tuamque a me alienationem commendationem tibi ad impios civis fore putavisti. Quid putem? contemptumne me? Non video, nec in vita nec in gratia nec
2 in rebus gestis nec in hac mea mediocritate ingenii quid despicere possit Antonius. An in senatu facillime de me detrahi posse credidit? qui ordo clarissimis civibus bene gestae rei publicae testimonium multis, mihi uni conservatae dedit. An decertare mecum voluit contentione dicendi? Hoc quidem est beneficium. Quid enim plenius, quid uberius quam mihi et pro me et contra Antonium dicere?

[1] *i.e.* the Catilinarian conspirators.

THE SECOND PHILIPPIC OF M. TULLIUS CICERO AGAINST M. ANTONIUS

I. To what fate of mine, Conscript Fathers, shall I attribute it that no man has these twenty years been the enemy of the State without at the same time declaring war on me also? There is in truth no need that any man should be named by me: you yourselves have memories. They[1] have paid me greater penalties than I wished: I wonder that you, Antonius, while you copy their deeds, do not shudder at their end. And this surprised me less in the case of others. For none of those men was unfriendly to me of his own will: it was by me they were all attacked on behalf of the State. You, not injured by even a word, to prove yourself more audacious than Catiline, more frenzied than Clodius, though unprovoked, attacked me with abuse, and thought that your estrangement from me would be your recommendation to disloyal citizens. What am I to think? That I am scorned? I cannot perceive, whether in my life, or in my popularity, or in these moderate abilities of mine, anything to be despised by Antonius. Is it in the Senate he believed he could most easily depreciate me, an order that has borne its testimony to illustrious citizens—for their administration of the State to many, to me alone for its preservation? Or did he wish to strive against me in a match of oratory? That indeed is a kindness: for what fuller, more exuberant subject is there than to speak both for myself and against Antonius?

Illud profecto est: non existimavit sui similibus probari posse se esse hostem patriae, nisi mihi esset inimicus. Cui priusquam de ceteris rebus respondeo,
3 de amicitia, quam a me violatam esse criminatus est, quod ego gravissimum crimen iudico, pauca dicam.

II. Contra rem suam me nescio quando venisse questus est. An ego non venirem contra alienum pro familiari et necessario, non venirem contra gratiam non virtutis spe, sed aetatis flore conlectam, non venirem contra iniuriam, quam iste intercessoris iniquissimi beneficio optinuit, non iure praetorio? Sed hoc idcirco commemoratum a te puto, ut te infirmo ordini commendares, cum omnes te recordarentur libertini generum et liberos tuos nepotes Q. Fadi, libertini hominis, fuisse. At enim te in disciplinam meam tradideras (nam ita dixisti), domum meam ventitaras. Ne tu, si id fecisses, melius famae, melius pudicitiae tuae consuluisses. Sed neque fecisti nec, si cuperes, tibi id per C. Curionem facere
4 licuisset. Auguratus petitionem mihi te concessisse dixisti. O incredibilem audaciam, o inpudentiam praedicandam! Quo enim tempore me augurem a toto collegio expetitum Cn. Pompeius et Q. Hortensius nominaverunt (nec enim licebat a pluribus nominari), tu nec solvendo eras nec te ullo modo nisi eversa re publica fore incolumem putabas. Poteras

[1] The allusion is to some suit against a friend of A. in which Cicero appeared for the plaintiff. The details are unknown.

[2] Fadia, A.'s first wife, was the daughter of Q. Fadius, a freedman.

[3] Young men used to attach themselves to those eminent in the State for training in public life: Plin. *Epp.* 8. 14.

[4] For his relations with Curio, see ch. 18.

The fact of course is this: he did not think he could approve himself to men like himself as an enemy of his fatherland unless he were unfriendly to me. And before I reply to him on other points I will say a few words as to the friendship which he charges me with having violated, for I account that the heaviest of charges.

II. He has complained that at some time or other I appeared in court against his interests.[1] Was I not to appear against a stranger for an intimate acquaintance and friend, not to appear against favour won, not by the hope of virtue, but by the prostitution of youth? not to appear against a wrong which that fellow upheld by the friendly veto of a most dishonest tribune, not by process of the praetor? But I think you have mentioned this for this reason, to commend yourself to the lowest order of citizens, since they would all remember that you had been the son-in-law of a freedman,[2] and children of yours had been grandsons of Quintus Fadius, a freedman. Oh, but you had surrendered yourself to my instruction—for this is what you said—you had frequented my house.[3] Truly, if you had done so, you would have better consulted your reputation, better your purity. But you neither did so, nor, had you wished, would Caius Curio[4] have allowed you. You said you waived your candidature for the augurate in my favour. What incredible audacity! What crying impudence! For at a time when the whole college wanted me as augur, and Cnaeus Pompeius and Quintus Hortensius nominated me—nomination by more was not allowed—neither were you solvent, nor could you—so you thought—anyhow save yourself except by the overthrow of the State

autem eo tempore auguratum petere, cum in Italia C. Curio non esset, aut tum, cum es factus, unam tribum sine Curione ferre potuisses? cuius etiam familiares de vi condemnati sunt, quod tui nimis studiosi fuissent.

5 III. At beneficio sum tuo usus. Quo? Quamquam illud ipsum, quod commemoras, semper prae me tuli; malui me tibi debere confiteri quam cuiquam minus prudenti non satis gratus videri Sed quo beneficio? quod me Brundisii non occideris? Quem ipse victor, qui tibi, ut tute gloriari solebas, detulerat ex latronibus suis principatum, salvum esse voluisset, in Italiam ire iussisset, eum tu occideres? Fac potuisse. Quod est aliud, patres conscripti, beneficium latronum, nisi ut commemorare possint iis se dedisse vitam, quibus non ademerint? Quod si esset beneficium, numquam, qui illum interfecerunt, a quo erant conservati, quos tu clarissimos viros soles appellare, tantam essent gloriam consecuti. Quale autem beneficium est, quod te abstinueris nefario scelere? Qua in re non tam iucundum mihi videri
6 debuit non interfectum me a te quam miserum te id inpune facere potuisse.

Sed sit beneficium, quandoquidem maius accipi a latrone nullum potuit; in quo potes me dicere ingratum? An de interitu rei publicae queri non debui, ne in te ingratus viderer? At in illa querella misera quidem et luctuosa, sed mihi pro hoc gradu,

[1] The tribes elected one of two nominated by the college: cf. note to *Phil.* xiii. 5.

[2] Cf. note to *Phil.* i. 4. 11.

[3] Brutus and Cassius, whom Caesar spared after the battle of Pharsalia, would have been regarded as ungrateful, not as saviours of their country.

[4] The first Philippic.

Besides, could you at that time stand for the augurate seeing that Caius Curio was not in Italy? or, when you were elected, could you have carried a single tribe[1] without the help of Curio, whose friends were even convicted of riot because they had been too zealous in your behalf?

III. But I had found in you a benefactor. How? The very fact, however, you mention I have always kept before me; I have preferred to admit a debt to you rather than seem to any one less informed not grateful enough. But how a benefactor? Because you did not slay me at Brundisium?[2] When the very victor, who, as you used to boast, had conferred on you the chief place among his brigands, wished a man to be safe, and had ordered him to return to Italy—were you to slay that man? Assuming it was in your power: how are brigands "benefactors," except in being able to assert that they have granted life to those from whom they have not taken it? But if this were a "benefaction," those that assassinated the man by whom they had been saved—men you are wont to call most noble—would never have achieved such glory.[3] And what sort of "benefaction" is it to have kept yourself from a nefarious crime? In such circumstances not to have been slain by you seemed to me justly not so much a matter for gratification as for bitter regret that it was in your power to do so with impunity.

But granted it was a benefaction, since no greater could be received from a brigand—wherein can you call me ungrateful? Ought I not to have complained of the destruction of the State, that I might not appear ungrateful to you? And yet in that complaint,[4] piteous and mournful as it was, but, having

in quo me senatus populusque Romanus collocavit, necessaria, quid est dictum a me cum contumelia, quid non moderate, quid non amice? Quod quidem cuius temperantiae fuit, de M. Antonio querentem abstinere maledictis! praesertim cum tu reliquias rei publicae dissipavisses, cum domi tuae turpissimo mercatu omnia essent venalia, cum leges eas, quae numquam promulgatae essent, et de te et a te latas confiterere, cum auspicia augur, intercessionem consul sustulisses, cum esses foedissime stipatus armatis, cum omnis impuritates inpudica in domo cotidie
7 susciperes vino lustrisque confectus. At ego, tamquam mihi cum M. Crasso contentio esset, quocum multae et magnae fuerunt, non cum uno gladiatore nequissimo, de re publica graviter querens de homine nihil dixi. Itaque hodie perficiam, ut intellegat, quantum a me beneficium tum acceperit.

IV. At etiam litteras, quas me sibi misisse diceret, recitavit homo et humanitatis expers et vitae communis ignarus. Quis enim umquam, qui paulum modo bonorum consuetudinem nosset, litteras ad se ab amico missas offensione aliqua interposita in medium protulit palamque recitavit? Quid est aliud tollere ex vita vitae societatem, tollere amicorum conloquia absentium? Quam multa ioca solent esse

[1] On three market days according to law: cf. *Phil.* v. 8.
[2] If the *lex* created an office or power, the proposer and his kinsmen were by law excluded from benefits. The allusion is to the Septemvirate (*Phil.* vi. 5).

regard to this position in which the Senate and Roman people have placed me, incumbent on me, what was said by me with insult? What without moderation? What in an unfriendly tone? What a sign indeed of self-control it was, while I was complaining of Marcus Antonius, to abstain from abuse! all the more when you had scattered abroad the last remnants of the constitution; when at your house by the foulest traffic all things were on sale; when you confessed that those laws that had never been advertised [1] had been proposed for your own behoof and by yourself [2]; when, as augur, you had abolished the auspices, as consul the tribunes' veto; when you were most shamefully fenced round by armed men; when, exhausted with wine and debauchery, you were practising in your licentious house all forms of impurity. But for my part, as if the conflict was with Marcus Crassus, with whom I have had many great ones, not with a gladiator of all the most villainous, while making great complaint about public affairs, I said nothing concerning the man. Therefore I will make him understand to-day how great was the "benefaction" he then received from me.

IV. But he even quoted a letter which he said I had written him—this fellow devoid of good breeding, and ignorant of the usages of life! For what man, having only a slight knowledge of the customs of gentlemen, because of some offence in the meantime, ever produced in public a letter written to him by a friend and openly quoted it? What is this but to eradicate from life life's social intercourse, to eradicate the communion of friends in absence? How many jokes are commonly found

in epistulis, quae prolata si sint, inepta videantur, quam multa seria neque tamen ullo modo divulganda!
8 Sit hoc inhumanitatis; stultitiam incredibilem videte. Quid habes, quod mihi opponas, homo diserte, ut Mustelae et Tironi videris? qui cum hoc ipso tempore stent cum gladiis in conspectu senatus, ego quoque te disertum putabo, si ostenderis, quo modo sis eos inter sicarios defensurus. Sed quid opponas tandem, si negem me umquam ad te istas litteras misisse, quo me teste convincas? An chirographo? in quo habes scientiam quaestuosam. Qui possis? sunt enim librarii manu. Iam invideo magistro tuo, qui te tanta mercede, quantam iam proferam
9 nihil sapere doceat. Quid enim est minus non dico oratoris, sed hominis quam id obicere adversario, quod ille si verbo negarit, longius progredi non possit, qui obiecerit? At ego non nego teque in isto ipso convinco non inhumanitatis solum, sed etiam amentiae. Quod enim verbum in istis litteris est non plenum humanitatis, officii, benivolentiae? Omne autem crimen tuum est, quod de te in his litteris non male existimem, quod scribam tamquam ad civem, tamquam ad bonum virum, non tamquam ad sceleratum et latronem. At ego tuas litteras, etsi iure poteram a te lacessitus, tamen non proferam; quibus petis, ut tibi per me liceat quendam de exilio reducere, adiurasque id te invito me non esse facturum. Idque a me impetrasti. Quid enim me interponerem audaciae tuae, quam neque

[1] Satellites of A. The former is called (ch. 41, s. 106) "gladiatorum princeps."
[2] An allusion to A.'s forgeries of decrees, exemptions, etc., under pretence that they were Caesar's; cf. ch. 38, 39 (ss. 97–100).
[3] It is given in *Epp. ad Att.* 14, 13. The man referred to was S. Clodius.

in letters which, if published, seem jejune! how many serious thoughts which nevertheless should in no way be divulged! So much for ill-breeding: mark his incredible folly! What have you in reply to me, O man of eloquence, as you now appear to Mustela and Tiro[1]—and seeing that at this very time they are standing sword in hand in the sight of the Senate, I too will think you eloquent if you show how you propose to defend them on a charge of assassination. But what reply would you make, pray, were I to deny I had ever written that letter to you? by what witness would you convict me? By handwriting? of which you have a profitable knowledge.[2] How could you? It is in the hand of a secretary. Here I envy your teacher who for so great a fee—its amount I will reveal presently—teaches you to have no sense. For what can be less proof, I do not say of an orator, but of a man, than to make such an objection to an adversary that, on a bare word of denial, the objector can proceed no further? But I make no denial, and you in this very matter I convict not merely of ill-breeding, but also of madness. For what word is there in that letter that is not full of civility, of friendliness, of kindness? This is the sum of your charge, that in this letter I express no bad opinion of you, that I write as if to a fellow-citizen, as if to a good man, not as if to a criminal and a brigand. But I, although by right I might do so, as having been attacked by you, will not produce your letter,[3] that in which you ask me to allow you to recall some exile, and assure me that you will not do so without my consent. And that consent you obtained from me. For why should I set myself against your audacity,

auctoritas huius ordinis neque existimatio populi
10 Romani neque leges ullae possent coërcere? Verum tamen quid erat, quod me rogares, si erat is, de quo rogabas, Caesaris lege reductus? Sed videlicet meam gratiam voluit esse, in quo ne ipsius quidem ulla esse poterat lege lata.

V. Sed cum mihi, patres conscripti, et pro me aliquid et in M. Antonium multa dicenda sint, alterum peto a vobis, ut me pro me dicentem benigne, alterum ipse efficiam, ut, contra illum cum dicam, attente audiatis. Simul illud oro, si meam cum in omni vita, tum in dicendo moderationem modestiamque cognostis, ne me hodie, cum isti, ut provocavit, respondero, oblitum esse putetis mei. Non tractabo ut consulem; ne ille quidem me ut consularem. Etsi ille nullo modo consul, vel quod ita vivit vel quod ita rem publicam gerit vel quod ita factus est; ego sine
11 ulla controversia consularis. Ut igitur intellegeretis, qualem ipse se consulem profiteretur, obiecit mihi consulatum meum. Qui consulatus verbo meus, patres conscripti, re vester fuit. Quid enim ego constitui, quid gessi, quid egi nisi ex huius consilio, auctoritate, sententia? Haec tu homo sapiens, non solum eloquens, apud eos, quorum consilio sapientia-

which neither the authority of this body, nor the opinion of the Roman people, nor any laws could restrain? Yet after all what reason had you to request me if the man about whom you made your request had been already restored by a law of Caesar's? But of course he wished the credit to be mine in a matter wherein even he himself could win none, as a law had been passed.

V. But since, Conscript Fathers, I must both say something on my own behalf and much against Marcus Antonius, while to the one I ask your consideration, as I speak for myself; as to the other, I will myself take care that while I am speaking against him you shall hear me with attention. At the same time I make this request: if you recognise my moderation and restraint in every part of my life, and in particular as a speaker, not to think that to-day when I shall have made a reply to him in accordance with his challenge, I have been totally forgetful of myself. I will not treat him as a consul: he has not treated me even as a consular. Though he is in no way a consul, whether as regards his life, or his administration of the State, or the manner of his appointment, I without any controversy am a consular. Accordingly, that you might understand what sort of consul he professed to be, he has flung my consulship in my teeth. That consulship, in name mine, Conscript Fathers, was in fact yours. For what did I establish, what policy did I adopt, what did I execute but on the advice, authority, opinion of this body? And have you in your wisdom—to say nothing of eloquence—dared to vilify those acts in the face of those by whose advice and wisdom they

que gesta sunt, ausus es vituperare? Quis autem, meum consulatum praeter te Publiumque Clodium qui vituperaret, inventus est? cuius quidem tibi fatum sicut C. Curioni manet, quoniam id domi tuae
12 est, quod fuit illorum utrique fatale.

Non placet M. Antonio consulatus meus. At placuit P. Servilio, ut eum primum nominem ex illius temporis consularibus, qui proxime est mortuus, placuit Q. Catulo, cuius semper in hac re publica vivet auctoritas, placuit duobus Lucullis. M. Crasso, Q. Hortensio, C. Curioni, C. Pisoni, M'. Glabrioni, M'. Lepido, L. Volcatio, C. Figulo, D. Silano, L. Murenae, qui tum erant consules designati, placuit idem quod consularibus M. Catoni; qui cum multa vita excedens providit, tum quod te consulem non vidit. Maxime vero consulatum meum Cn. Pompeius probavit, qui ut me primum decedens ex Syria vidit, conplexus et gratulans meo beneficio patriam se visurum esse dixit. Sed quid singulos commemoro? Frequentissimo senatui sic placuit, ut esset nemo, qui mihi non ut parenti gratias ageret, qui mihi non vitam suam, fortunas, liberos, rem publicam referret acceptam.

VI. Sed quoniam illis, quos nominavi, tot et
13 talibus viris res publica orbata est, veniamus ad vivos, qui duo de consularium numero reliqui sunt. L. Cotta, vir summo ingenio summaque prudentia,

[1] Fulvia, successively the wife of Clodius, Curio, and Antonius.

were transacted? And who has been found to vilify my consulship, save you and P. Clodius, whose fate indeed awaits you, as it does C. Curio; for you have that[1] in your house which to each of them was fatal.

My consulship does not please Marcus Antonius. But it pleased Publius Servilius—if among the consulars of that period I may mention one who has recently died; it pleased Quintus Catulus, whose authority will always survive in this commonwealth; it pleased the two Luculluses, Marcus Crassus, Quintus Hortensius, Caius Curio, Caius Piso, Manius Glabrio, Manius Lepidus, Lucius Volcatius, Caius Figulus, Decimus Silanus, and Lucius Murena, who then were consuls elect; the same conduct that pleased the consulars pleased Marcus Cato, who, in his departure out of life showed large foresight, and above all in not having a sight of you as consul. But most of all did my consulship gain the approval of Cnaeus Pompeius: who, the first moment he saw me, on quitting Syria, embraced me, thanked me, and said that it was owing to my services that he would see his country again. But why do I mention individuals? In a very full assembly my consulship so pleased the Senate that there was no senator but thanked me as if I were his father, but credited me with the preservation of his life, his fortunes, his children, and the State.

VI. But seeing that the State has been deprived of the many illustrious men I have named, let us come to the living, of whom two out of the ranks of consulars remain. Lucius Cotta, a man of the finest intellect, and of the highest judgment, after the

rebus iis gestis, quas tu reprehendis, supplicationem decrevit verbis amplissimis, eique illi ipsi, quos modo nominavi, consulares senatusque cunctus adsensus est, qui honos post conditam hanc urbem habitus est
14 togato ante me nemini. L. Caesar, avunculus tuus, qua oratione, qua constantia, qua gravitate sententiam dixit in sororis suae virum vitricum tuum! Hunc tu cum auctorem et praeceptorem omnium consiliorum totiusque vitae debuisses habere, vitrici te similem quam avunculi maluisti. Huius ego alienus consiliis consul usus sum, tu sororis filius ecquid ad eum umquam de re publica rettulisti? At ad quos refert? di immortales! Ad eos scilicet, quorum nobis etiam dies natales audiendi sunt.
15 Hodie non descendit Antonius. Cur? Dat nataliciam in hortis. Cui? Neminem nominabo; putate tum Phormioni alicui, tum Gnathoni, tum etiam Ballioni. O foeditatem hominis flagitiosam, o impudentiam, nequitiam, libidinem non ferendam! Tu cum principem senatorem, civem singularem tam propinquum habeas, ad eum de re publica nihil referas, referas ad eos, qui suam rem nullam habent, tuam exhauriunt?

VII. Tuus videlicet salutaris consulatus, perniciosus meus. Adeone pudorem cum pudicitia perdidisti, ut hoc in eo templo dicere ausus sis, in quo ego senatum illum, qui quondam florens orbi terrarum praesidebat, consulebam, tu homines perditissimos cum

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[1] P. Lentulus Sura, put to death for his share in Catiline's conspiracy.

[2] Ph and Gn. are parasites in the *Phormio* and *Eunuchus* of Terence respectively: Ballio is a pimp in the *Pseudolus* of Plautus.

exploits you censure, moved in the most complimentary terms for a public thanksgiving, and to that motion the very consulars I have just named, and the whole Senate, assented; an honour since the foundation of this city paid to no civilian except me. Lucius Caesar, your maternal uncle—with what eloquence, with what earnestness, with what gravity, did he give his vote against his sister's husband, your stepfather![1] He was the man whom you should have had as your adviser and preceptor in all your policy and in your whole course of life; yet you preferred to resemble your stepfather rather than your uncle. His advice, I, though no kin of his, enjoyed when I was consul; did *you*, his sister's son, ever refer to him any matter of State? But to whom does he refer such things? Heavens! why, to those whose very birthdays must be announced to us. "To-day Antonius does not come down." Why? He is giving a birthday-feast in his gardens. To whom? I will give no name; imagine it to be given, at one time to some Phormio, at another to a Gnatho, at another even to a Ballio.[2] What outrageous indecency the fellow shows! what impudence, wickedness, lust intolerable! When you have a principal senator, an eminent citizen so closely allied to you, would you refer no matter of State to him, but refer it to those that possess no property of their own, and drain yours dry?

VII. Your consulship we must allow was a salutary one, mine pernicious! Have you so lost your sense of shame with your purity that you have dared to say this in that temple, where I used to consult that Senate which in days of its power was supreme over the world, where you have stationed

16 gladiis conlocavisti? At etiam ausus es (quid autem est, quod tu non audeas?) clivum Capitolinum dicere me consule plenum servorum armatorum fuisse. Ut illa, credo, nefaria senatus consulta fierent, vim adferebam senatui. O miser, sive illa tibi nota non sunt (nihil enim boni nosti) sive sunt, qui apud tales viros tam impudenter loquare! Quis enim eques Romanus, quis praeter te adulescens nobilis, quis ullius ordinis, qui se civem esse meminisset, cum senatus in hoc templo esset, in clivo Capitolino non fuit, quis nomen non dedit? quamquam nec scribae sufficere nec tabulae nomina illorum capere potue-
17 runt. Etenim, cum homines nefarii de patriae parricidio confiterentur consciorum indiciis, sua manu, voce paene litterarum coacti se urbem inflammare, cives trucidare, vastare Italiam, delere rem publicam consensisse, quis esset, qui ad salutem communem defendendam non excitaretur, praesertim cum senatus populusque Romanus haberet ducem, qualis si qui nunc esset, tibi idem, quod illis accidit, contigisset?

Ad sepulturam corpus vitrici sui negat a me
18 datum. Hoc vero ne P. quidem Clodius dixit umquam; quem, quia iure ei inimicus fui, doleo a te omnibus vitiis iam esse superatum. Qui autem tibi venit in mentem redigere in memoriam nostram

[1] Against the Catilinarian conspirators.
[2] Cicero himself. [3] cf. n. 1, p. 78.

the greatest of reprobates sword in hand. But you even dared—and what is there you would not dare?—to say that, when I was consul, the slope of the Capitol was full of armed slaves. In order, I suppose, that those nefarious resolutions[1] of the Senate might pass I was offering violence to the Senate! O wretched fellow! if those doings are unknown to you—for you know nothing good—or if they are known, to make such an impudent statement in the face of such an assembly! For what Roman knight, what youth of good birth saving you, what man of any class, that remembered he was a citizen, when the Senate was sitting in this temple, was not on the slope of the Capitol? who was there that did not give in his name, though there were neither clerks enough, nor registers to take their names? For when nefarious conspirators to destroy their country were confessing, compelled as they were by the evidence of their accomplices, by their own handwriting, by letters which almost spoke aloud, that they had agreed to burn the city, to massacre the citizens, to lay waste Italy, and to wipe out the State, who would there be who would not be stirred to defend the common safety, especially when the Senate and Roman people possessed a leader[2] such that, were his like now here, the same fate would have overtaken you as befell them?

He says I refused to surrender his stepfather's[3] body for burial. That charge not even Publius Clodius ever made; and, since I was justly that man's enemy, I lament that he has been in every vice already surpassed by you. But how did it occur to you to recall to our memory your education in the house

te domi P. Lentuli esse educatum? An verebare, ne non putaremus natura te potuisse tam improbum evadere, nisi accessisset etiam disciplina?

VIII. Tam autem eras excors, ut tota in oratione tua tecum ipse pugnares, non modo non cohaerentia inter se diceres, sed maxime disiuncta atque contraria, ut non tanta mecum quanta tibi tecum esset contentio. Vitricum tuum fuisse in tanto scelere fatebare, poena adfectum querebare. Ita, quod proprie meum est, laudasti, quod totum est senatus, reprehendisti; nam comprehensio sontium mea, animadversio senatus fuit. Homo disertus non intellegit eum, quem contra dicit, laudari a se, eos,
19 apud quos dicit, vituperari. Iam illud cuius est non dico audaciae (cupit enim se audacem), sed, quod minime vult, stultitiae, qua vincit omnis, clivi Capitolini mentionem facere, cum inter subsellia nostra versentur armati, cum in hac cella Concordiae, di immortales! in qua me consule salutares sententiae dictae sunt, quibus ad hanc diem viximus, cum gladiis homines conlocati stent? Accusa senatum, accusa equestrem ordinem, qui tum cum senatu copulatus fuit, accusa omnis ordines, omnis cives, dum confiteare hunc ordinem hoc ipso tempore ab Ityraeis circumsederi. Haec tu non propter audaciam dicis tam impudenter, sed, qui tantam rerum repugnantiam non videas, nihil profecto sapis. Quid est enim

of Publius Lentulus? Were you afraid we might think that by nature alone you could not have turned out so shameless had training also not come to your aid?

VIII. And so void of sense were you that throughout your speech you were at war with yourself, were making not only inconsistent statements, but statements so entirely disjointed and contrary to one another that the contest was not so much with me as with yourself. You confessed that your stepfather was implicated in that great crime, you complained of his paying the penalty. Thus what is peculiarly my part you praised, what is wholly that of the Senate you blamed: for the arrest of guilty men was my duty, their punishment that of the Senate. This eloquent fellow does not understand that his opponent is being praised by him, his audience abused. Moreover, what a sign it is, I do not say of audacity—for to be audacious is his desire—but of the last thing he desires, of the stupidity wherein he is unrivalled, to allude to the slope of the Capitol when armed men find a place among our benches! when, Good Heavens! in this shrine of Concord, where in my consulship salutary votes were given whereby we have survived up to this time, men stand posted sword in hand. Accuse the Senate: accuse the equestrian order, which was then allied with the Senate: accuse all classes, all citizens—if you only confess that this our order at this very time is beleaguered by Ituraeans. It is not audacity that causes you to make such impudent statements, but being blind to such self-contradiction, you show yourself a perfect fool. For what is madder, when you your-

dementius quam, cum rei publicae perniciosa arma
20 ipse ceperis, obicere alteri salutaria?

At etiam quodam loco facetus esse voluisti. Quam id te, di boni, non decebat! In quo est tua culpa non nulla; aliquid enim salis a mima uxore trahere potuisti. "Cedant arma togae." Quid? tum nonne cesserunt? At postea tuis armis cessit toga. Quaeramus igitur, utrum melius fuerit, libertati populi Romani sceleratorum arma an libertatem nostram armis tuis cedere. Nec vero tibi de versibus plura respondebo; tantum dicam breviter, te neque illos neque ullas omnino litteras nosse, me nec rei publicae nec amicis umquam defuisse et tamen omni genere monimentorum meorum perfecisse, ut meae vigiliae meaeque litterae et iuventuti utilitatis et nomini Romano laudis aliquid adferrent. Sed haec non huius temporis; maiora videamus.

IX. P. Clodium meo consilio interfectum esse
21 dixisti. Quidnam homines putarent, si tum occisus esset, cum tu illum in foro spectante populo Romano gladio insecutus es negotiumque transegisses, nisi se ille in scalas tabernae librariae coniecisset iisque oppilatis impetum tuum compressisset? Quod quidem ego favisse me tibi fateor, suasisse ne tu quidem dicis. At Miloni ne favere quidem potui; prius enim rem transegit, quam quisquam eum facturum

[1] One Cytheris (the Lycoris of Virg. *Ecl.* x. 2), formerly the mistress of Volumnius Eutrapelus: cf. ch. 24. "*Uxor*" is ironical.

[2] *Cedant arma togae, concedat laurea laudi:* This line and another (*O fortunatam natam me consule Romam!*) were two unfortunate lines from Cicero's Epic on his own times, which were often quoted against him: cf. Quint. xi. 1. 24; Juv. x. 123. Ant. had probably sneered at the line.

self have taken up arms to destroy the State, than to reproach another for taking them up to save it?

But you were even pleased on one occasion to be facetious. Heavens! how clumsy you were! And here some blame attaches to you, for you might have derived some wit from your actress[1] wife. "Let arms yield to the gown."[2] Well! did they not yield then? But afterwards the gown yielded to your arms. Let us therefore ask whether it was better for the arms of criminals to yield to the liberty of the Roman people, or for our liberty to yield to your arms. However I will make no further reply to you on the verses; this much I will say briefly, that you neither know them nor any literature at all; that I, though never wanting in duty either to the State or my friends, have yet by every kind of memorial of myself, secured that my vigils and my writings should both bring to youth something of profit, and to the Roman name something of honour. But these are not topics for the present occasion: let us consider greater matters.

IX. You said P. Clodius was slain by my advice. What would men think if he had been killed at the time when you, in the Forum, in the sight of the Roman people, attacked him with a sword, and would have finished the affair if he had not thrown himself on to the stairs of a bookshop, and baffled your attack by barricading them? In this proceeding indeed I confess I supported you, that I instigated it not even you assert. But Milo's action I had no opportunity even to support: he finished the

id suspicaretur. At ego suasi. Scilicet is animus erat Milonis, ut prodesse rei publicae sine suasore non posset. At laetatus sum. Quid ergo? in tanta laetitia cunctae civitatis me unum tristem esse
22 oportebat? Quamquam de morte Clodi fuit quaestio non satis prudenter illa quidem constituta (quid enim attinebat nova lege quaeri de eo, qui hominem occidisset, cum esset legibus quaestio constituta?), quaesitum est tamen. Quod igitur, cum res agebatur, nemo in me dixit, id tot annis post tu es inventus qui diceres?

23 Quod vero dicere ausus es, idque multis verbis, opera mea Pompeium a Caesaris amicitia esse diiunctum ob eamque causam culpa mea bellum civile esse natum, in eo non tu quidem tota re, sed, quod maximum est, temporibus errasti.

X. Ego M. Bibulo, praestantissimo cive, consule nihil praetermisi, quantum facere enitique potui, quin Pompeium a Caesaris coniunctione avocarem. In quo Caesar felicior fuit; ipse enim Pompeium a mea familiaritate diiunxit. Postea vero quam se totum Pompeius Caesari tradidit, quid ego illum ab eo distrahere conarer? Stulti erat sperare, suadere
24 impudentis. Duo tamen tempora inciderunt, quibus aliquid contra Caesarem Pompeio suaserim; ea velim reprehendas, si potes. Unum, ne quinquennii imperium Caesari prorogaret, alterum, ne pateretur

[1] T. Annius Milo, having accidentally in 52 B.C. met the turbulent tribune P. Clodius on the Appian Way, on a quarrel arising between the respective servants, slew the tribune. He was afterwards prosecuted. C., being overawed by armed men, made a weak defence of his client, who was banished to Massilia.

[2] The *Lex Pompeia de vi* of 52 B.C. It applied only to Milo.

business before anyone suspected he would act.[1] "But I prompted it." No doubt such was Milo's temperament that he could not serve the State without a prompter! "But I rejoiced." What then? When all the community was so joyful, must I have been the only one sorrowful? However, as to the death of Clodius there was an enquiry—not indeed set up with much wisdom (for what was the use of an enquiry into homicide under a special law[2] when there was by the laws a proper court already constituted?) yet enquiry there was. And so, whereas no one made such a charge against me when the matter was in issue, have you been found to make it so many years after?

As to your audacious statement, and that in many words, that it was by my doing that Pompeius was severed from Caesar's friendship, and for that reason it was by my fault the civil war arose, here you are mistaken, not indeed in the facts as a whole, but—what is most important—in the dates.

X. In the consulship of that most eminent citizen, Marcus Bibulus, I left nothing undone, to the full extent of my activities and efforts, to win Pompeius from alliance with Caesar. Here Caesar was more fortunate; for he severed Pompeius from intimacy with myself. But after Pompeius surrendered himself wholly to Caesar, why should I attempt to part him from Caesar? To hope it had been folly, to urge it impudence. None the less there did happen two occasions for me to give Pompeius some advice against Caesar: you may carp at them if you can. One was that he should not extend Caesar's command for five years; the other that he should not tolerate a proposal that

ferri, ut absentis eius ratio haberetur. Quorum si utrumvis persuasissem, in has miserias numquam incidissemus. Atque idem ego, cum iam opes omnis et suas et populi Romani Pompeius ad Caesarem detulisset seroque ea sentire coepisset, quae ego multo ante provideram, inferrique patriae bellum viderem nefarium, pacis, concordiae, compositionis auctor esse non destiti, meaque illa vox est nota multis: "Utinam, Pompei, cum Caesare societatem aut numquam coisses aut numquam diremisses! Fuit alterum gravitatis, alterum prudentiae tuae." Haec mea, M. Antoni, semper et de Pompeio et de re publica consilia fuerunt, quae si valuissent, res publica staret, tu tuis flagitiis, egestate, infamia concidisses.

25 XI. Sed haec vetera, illud vero recens, Caesarem meo consilio interfectum. Iam vereor, patres conscripti, ne, quod turpissimum est, praevaricatorem mihi adposuisse videar, qui me non solum meis laudibus ornaret, sed etiam alienis. Quis enim meum in ista societate gloriosissimi facti nomen audivit? Cuius autem, qui in eo numero fuisset, nomen est occultatum? Occultatum dico? cuius non statim divulgatum? Citius dixerim iactasse se aliquos, ut fuisse in ea societate viderentur, cum conscii non fuissent, quam ut quisquam celari vellet,

26 qui fuisset. Quam veri simile porro est in tot hominibus partim obscuris, partim adulescentibus

[1] A *praevaricator* was an advocate, who, by collusion with the other side, sets up a sham accusation or defence. C. means that he appears to have set up A. to accuse him of what were really good actions.

Caesar's candidature should be recognised in his absence. If on either of these points I had prevailed we never should have fallen into this unhappy condition. Yes, and I too, after Pompeius had already carried over to Caesar all his own resources and those of the Roman people, and had too late begun to perceive what I had long before foreseen, and after I saw the unnatural war that was assailing my country, it was I who never ceased to urge peace, and concord, and reconciliation; and my saying at that time is known to many: "Pompeius, would that either you had never joined in partnership with Caesar, or had never dissolved it! The one course would have shown your steadfastness, the other your foresight." These, Marcus Antonius, were always my counsels both as concerning Pompeius and the State: had they prevailed, the republic would now be standing; it is you that by your crimes, your penury, your infamy would have been brought to ruin.

XI. But this is old history: the next accusation is new, that Caesar was slain by my advice. And here I am afraid, Conscript Fathers, to appear, by the most dishonourable act, to have suborned a mock accuser, not only to trick me out in my own merits, but also to load me with borrowed ones.[1] For who ever heard of my name among the partners in that most glorious deed? And what man's name among that number was concealed? Concealed, say I? whose name was not at once made public? I would sooner assert that some boasted of the deed to win the reputation of a partner though they were not privy, than that any partner wished his name concealed. Moreover how likely it is that, among so many men, some obscure, some young, who were

neminem occultantibus meum nomen latere potuisse? Etenim, si auctores ad liberandam patriam desiderarentur illis actoribus,[1] Brutos ego impellerem, quorum uterque L. Bruti imaginem cotidie videret, alter etiam Ahalae? Hi igitur his maioribus ab alienis potius consilium peterent quam a suis et foris potius quam domo? Quid? C. Cassius in ea familia natus, quae non modo dominatum, sed ne potentiam quidem cuiusquam ferre potuit, me auctorem, credo, desideravit; qui etiam sine his clarissimis viris hanc rem in Cilicia ad ostium fluminis Cydni confecisset, si ille ad eam ripam, quam constituerat, non ad
27 contrariam navis appulisset. Cn. Domitium non patris interitus, clarissimi viri, non avunculi mors, non spoliatio dignitatis ad reciperandam libertatem, sed mea auctoritas excitavit? An C. Trebonio ego persuasi? cui ne suadere quidem ausus essem. Quo etiam maiorem ei res publica gratiam debet, qui libertatem populi Romani unius amicitiae praeposuit depulsorque dominatus quam particeps esse maluit. An L. Tillius Cimber me est auctorem secutus? quem ego magis fecisse illam rem sum admiratus, quam facturum putavi, admiratus autem ob eam causam, quod immemor beneficiorum, memor patriae fuisset. Quid? duos Servilios—Cascas dicam an

[1] Madvig's suggestion for *auctoribus*

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[1] The founder of the republic.

[2] Servilia, the mother of M. Brutus, the assassin of Julius Caesar, claimed descent from C. Servilius Ahala, who in 439 B.C slew Sp. Maelius as an alleged conspirator to seize kingly power.

[3] Caesar in 47 B.C. marched from Egypt towards Pontus through Cilicia. But nothing is known of the incident mentioned.

not suppressing any name, my name could have lain hid? For if advisers were wanted for the liberation of the country when those men were the actors, should I incite the Brutuses, of whom the one saw every day the bust of Lucius Brutus,[1] the other that of Ahala also?[2] Should these men then, with such a lineage as this, seek counsel from strangers rather than from their own kin, and abroad rather than at home? Again: Caius Cassius, a man born of a family that could not endure, I do not say sovereignty, but even the superior power of any man, wanted me, I suppose, as an adviser; Cassius who, without the aid of these most noble men, would have finished this business in Cilicia at the mouth of the river Cydnus if Caesar had, as arranged, moored his vessels to one bank instead of the opposite.[3] Cnaeus Domitius too—it was not the death of that most illustrious gentleman, his father, not the death of his maternal uncle,[4] not the deprivation of his rank, that stirred him to the recovery of his liberty, but *my* influence? Did I convince Caius Trebonius? I should not have ventured even to advise him. Wherefore the State owes a greater debt of gratitude to him who set the liberty of the Roman people above one man's friendship, and preferred to resist a sovereignty rather than to share it. Did Lucius Tillius Cimber follow me as his adviser? I was rather astonished that he performed that deed than thought he would do so—astonished for this reason: he had forgotten benefits, but remembered his country. Again: the two Serviliuses?—shall I call

[4] L. Domitius, slain at Pharsalia, and M. Cato, who committed suicide at Utica, respectively.

Ahalas? Et hos auctoritate mea censes excitatos potius quam caritate rei publicae? Longum est persequi ceteros, idque rei publicae praeclarum, fuisse tam multos, ipsis gloriosum.

28 XII. At quem ad modum me coarguerit homo acutus, recordamini. "Caesare interfecto," inquit, "statim cruentum alte extollens Brutus pugionem Ciceronem nominatim exclamavit atque ei recuperatam libertatem est gratulatus." Cur mihi potissimum? quia sciebam? Vide, ne illa causa fuerit adpellandi mei, quod, cum rem gessisset consimilem rebus iis, quas ipse gesseram, me potissimum testatus est se aemulum mearum laudium extitisse. Tu
29 autem, omnium stultissime, non intellegis, si, id quod me arguis, voluisse interfici Caesarem crimen sit, etiam laetatum esse morte Caesaris crimen esse? Quid enim interest inter suasorem facti et probatorem? aut quid refert, utrum voluerim fieri an gaudeam factum? Ecquis est igitur exceptis iis, qui illum regnare gaudebant, qui illud aut fieri noluerit aut factum improbarit? Omnes ergo in culpa; etenim omnes boni, quantum in ipsis fuit, Caesarem occiderunt; aliis consilium, aliis animus,
30 aliis occasio defuit, voluntas nemini. Sed stuporem hominis vel dicam pecudis attendite. Sic enim dixit: "Brutus, quem ego honoris causa nomino, cruentum pugionem tenens Ciceronem exclamavit; ex quo intellegi debet eum conscium fuisse." Ergo ego sceleratus appellor a te, quem tu suspicatum

[1] P. and C. Casca, the assassins of Caesar, and Ahala, who slew the traitor Sp. Maelius, were named Servilius. They might almost change names with him.

[2] A common formula of politeness in speaking of a living person.

them Cascas or Ahalas?[1] And these men you think were aroused by my advice rather than by affection for the State? It would be long to go through the rest of the names: that they were so many is an honour to the State, for themselves a title to glory.

XII. But consider how this sharp fellow has convicted me. "When Caesar had been slain," he says, "Brutus, at once lifting high his bloody dagger, shouted for Cicero by name, and congratulated him on the recovery of freedom." Why for me especially? because I was privy to the plot? See whether the reason of his calling on me was not this, that, as he had done a deed exactly like those deeds I myself had done, he called me especially to witness that he had appeared as a rival of my fame? But you, most foolish of all men, do you not understand that, if it be a crime—as you assert against me—to have wished for Caesar's slaying, to have rejoiced at his death is also a crime? For what difference is there between the adviser and the approver of a deed? or what does it matter whether I wished it done, or was glad that it was done? Is there then any man, except those that were glad of his reign, who repudiated that deed, or disapproved of it when it was done? All therefore are to blame, for all good men, so far as their own power went, slew Caesar; some lacked a plan, others courage, others opportunity: will no man lacked. But regard the stupidity of the fellow, or—I should say—of the blockhead. For this is what he said: "Brutus, whom I name with respect,[2] grasping his bloody dagger, shouted for Cicero; whence it should be understood that he was an accomplice." So I, whom you suspect of having suspected something, am called by you a criminal;

aliquid suspicaris; ille, qui stillantem prae se pugionem tulit, is a te honoris causa nominatur? Esto, sit in verbis tuis hic stupor; quanto in rebus sententiisque maior! Constitue hoc, consul, aliquando, Brutorum, C. Cassi, Cn. Domiti, C. Treboni, reliquorum quam velis esse causam; edormi crapulam, inquam, et exhala. An faces admovendae sunt, quae te excitent tantae causae indormientem? Numquamne intelleges statuendum tibi esse, utrum illi, qui istam rem gesserunt, homicidae sint an vindices libertatis?

XIII. Attende enim paulisper cogitationemque sobrii hominis punctum temporis suscipe. Ego, qui
31 sum illorum, ut ipse fateor, familiaris, ut a te arguor, socius, nego quicquam esse medium; confiteor eos, nisi liberatores populi Romani conservatoresque rei publicae sint, plus quam sicarios, plus quam homicidas, plus etiam quam parricidas esse, siquidem est atrocius patriae parentem quam suum occidere. Tu homo sapiens et considerate, quid dicis? Si parricidas, cur honoris causa a te sunt et in hoc ordine et apud populum Romanum semper appellati? cur M. Brutus referente te legibus est solutus, si ab urbe plus quam decem dies afuisset? cur ludi Apollinares incredibili M. Bruti honore celebrati? cur provinciae Bruto, Cassio datae, cur quaestores additi, cur legatorum numerus auctus? Atqui haec

[1] Brutus, as Praetor Urbanus, could not by law be absent from the city longer than ten nights.

he who held up before him his dripping dagger, he is named by you with respect? Be it so: let the stupidity of your words be as I say: how much greater is it in your deeds and sentiments! Determine this some time or other, consul, what view you wish held of the Brutuses, of Caius Cassius, of Cnaeus Domitius, of Caius Trebonius, and of all the rest: sleep off, I say, and exhale the fume of debauch. Must torches be brought to rouse you as over such an issue you lie asleep? Will you never understand that you must determine whether the doers of that deed are murderers or avengers of liberty?

XIII. For attend for a while, and assume for a moment the thoughts of a sober man. I who am, as I myself confess, the friend, and, as you argue, the ally, of those men, say there is no middle course: I confess that they, if they are not the liberators of the Roman people and the saviours of the State, are worse than assassins, worse than murderers, worse even than parricides—if indeed it be more atrocious to slay the father of the country than one's own. You, wise and thoughtful fellow, what do you call them? If parricides, why have they been always named with respect by you both in this assembly and before the Roman people? why was Marcus Brutus on your motion exempted from the statutes, though absent from the city longer than ten days?[1] why were the Apollinarian Games held with incredible proofs of honour towards Marcus Brutus? why were provinces given to Brutus, to Cassius? why were additional quaestors assigned them? why was the number of their legates increased? And these things were done

acta per te. Non igitur homicidas. Sequitur, ut liberatores tuo iudicio, quandoquidem tertium nihil potest esse. Quid est? num conturbo te? Non
32 enim fortasse satis, quae diiunctius dicuntur, intellegis. Sed tamen haec summa est conclusionis meae, quoniam scelere a te liberati sunt, ab eodem amplissimis praemiis dignissimos iudicatos. Itaque iam retexo orationem meam. Scribam ad illos, ut, si qui forte, quod a te mihi obiectum est, quaerent sitne verum, ne cui negent. Etenim vereor, ne aut celatum me illis ipsis non honestum aut invitatum refugisse mihi sit turpissimum. Quae enim res umquam, pro sancte Iuppiter! non modo in hac urbe, sed in omnibus terris est gesta maior, quae gloriosior, quae commendatior hominum memoriae sempiternae? In huius me tu consilii societatem tamquam in equum Troianum cum principibus includis? non recuso, ago
33 etiam gratias, quoquo animo facis. Tanta enim res est, ut invidiam istam, quam tu in me vis concitare, cum laude non comparem. Quid enim beatius illis, quos tu expulsos a te praedicas et relegatos? qui locus est aut tam desertus aut tam inhumanus, qui illos, cum accesserint, non adfari atque adpetere videatur? qui homines tam agrestes, qui se, cum eos aspexerint, non maximum cepisse vitae fructum putent? quae vero tam immemor posteritas, quae tam ingratae litterae reperientur, quae eorum gloriam

[1] That C. was privy to Caesar's death.
[2] A horse of wood in which the Greek chiefs concealed themselves and were stealthily admitted into Troy.

through your means. Not murderers therefore. It follows that in your judgment they are saviours, since indeed there can be no middle term. What is the matter? do I disconcert you? for perhaps you do not sufficiently grasp what is put as a dilemma? Yet this is the gist of my conclusion: that, as they have been absolved by you from crime, by you too are they adjudged most worthy of the fullest rewards. Therefore I now recast my speech. I will write to them, that if any persons happen to ask them whether your charge against me[1] is true, they are not to deny it to any. For I fear that, either their keeping me in ignorance of the plot may be dishonourable to the men themselves, or my refusal of their invitation my own utter disgrace. For what thing, holy Jupiter! ever done, not in this city only but in all the world, was greater? what more glorious? what more to be commended to men's everlasting memory? Do you admit me, with its chiefs, into the partnership of this enterprise, as into a Trojan horse?[2] I do not decline; I even thank you, whatever be your motive. For the matter is so great that I do not account that odium you wish to excite against me as comparable with the renown. For what happier fortune is there than that of the men whom you proclaim you have expelled and banished? what spot is there so deserted, or so savage, as not, as it were, to seem to accost them when they come, and welcome them? what men so boorish as not to think, when they see these men, that they themselves have reaped the fullest harvest that life gives? what future generation indeed shall be found so unmindful, what literature so ungrateful, as not to enshrine

non immortalitatis memoria prosequantur? Tu vero adscribe me talem in numerum.

XIV. Sed unam rem vereor ne non probes. Si
34 enim fuissem, non solum regem, sed etiam regnum de re publica sustulissem et, si meus stilus ille fuisset, ut dicitur, mihi crede, non solum unum actum, sed totam fabulam confecissem. Quamquam, si interfici Caesarem voluisse crimen est, vide, quaeso, Antoni, quid tibi futurum sit, quem et Narbone hoc consilium cum C. Trebonio cepisse notissimum est, et ob eius consilii societatem, cum interficeretur Caesar, tum te a Trebonio vidimus sevocari. Ego autem (vide, quam tecum agam non inimice!), quod bene cogitasti aliquando, laudo, quod non indicasti, gratias ago,
35 quod non fecisti, ignosco. Virum res illa quaerebat. Quodsi te in iudicium quis adducat usurpetque illud Cassianum, "cui bono" fuerit, vide, quaeso, ne haereas. Quamquam illud quidem fuit, ut tu dicebas, omnibus bono, qui servire nolebant, tibi tamen praecipue, qui non modo non servis, sed etiam regnas, qui maximo te aere alieno ad aedem Opis liberavisti, qui per easdem tabulas innumerabilem pecuniam dissipavisti, ad quem e domo Caesaris tam multa delata sunt, cuius domi quaestuosissima est falsorum commentariorum et chirographorum officina, agrorum, oppidorum, immunitatium, vectigalium flagitiosissimae
36 nundinae. Etenim quae res egestati et aeri alieno tuo praeter mortem Caesaris subvenire potuisset?

[1] The *stilus*, used for writing upon wax, was a pointed instrument, something like a dagger, and C. thinks of it here as something which could stab or kill; cf. Hor. *Sat.* II. i. 39, where Horace compares his pen (*stilus*) to a sword (*ensis*).

[2] *i.e.* A. should have been slain as well as Caesar.

[3] An unjust charge. A. was merely sounded, and did not consent.

their glory in an immortal record? Aye! enrol me in the number of such.

XIV. But one thing I fear you will not approve of. For had I been one of them, I would have removed, not a king only, but kingship, out of the State; and if that pen[1] had been mine, as is said, believe me, I would have made an end,[2] not of one act only, but of the whole story. And yet, if to have wished for Caesar's slaying is a crime, consider, I pray, Antonius, what will be your position, who, it is well known, entered into this scheme[3] at Narbo with Caius Trebonius, and, because of partnership in that design, were, we have seen, drawn aside by Trebonius at the time when Caesar was being slain. But I—see how I treat you in no unfriendly way!—praise you for having at one time had a noble thought; for not having informed, I thank you; your failure to act I pardon. That matter called for a man. But if any one were to drag you into court, and were to adopt that maxim of Cassius, "To whose advantage was it?" take care, I pray, you are not embarrassed. Although that deed was in fact, as you said, a gain for all men who repudiated slavery, yet for you it was especially so, who not only are not a slave, but even a king; who have at the Temple of Ops delivered yourself from a load of debt; who by means of those same documents have squandered moneys innumerable; you, to whom so much was brought out of Caesar's house; you, at whose house is a most lucrative factory of forged note-books and signatures, a most outrageous market for lands, towns, exemptions from taxation, revenues. For what could have alleviated your need and your debt save the death

Nescio quid conturbatus esse videris; numquid subtimes, ne ad te hoc crimen pertinere videatur? Libero te metu; nemo credet umquam; non est tuum de re publica bene mereri; habet istius pulcherrimi facti clarissimos viros res publica auctores; ego te tantum gaudere dico, fecisse non arguo.

Respondi maximis criminibus; nunc etiam reliquis respondendum est.

XV. Castra mihi Pompei atque illud omne tempus
37 obiecisti. Quo quidem tempore si, ut dixi, meum consilium auctoritasque valuisset, tu hodie egeres, nos liberi essemus, res publica non tot duces et exercitus amisisset. Fateor enim me, cum ea, quae acciderunt, providerem futura, tanta in maestitia fuisse, quanta ceteri optimi cives, si idem providissent, fuissent. Dolebam, dolebam, patres conscripti, rem publicam vestris quondam meisque consiliis conservatam brevi tempore esse perituram. Nec vero eram tam indoctus ignarusque rerum, ut frangerer animo propter vitae cupiditatem, quae me manens conficeret angoribus, dimissa molestiis omnibus liberaret. Illos ego praestantissimos viros, lumina rei publicae, vivere volebam, tot consulares, tot praetorios, tot honestissimos senatores, omnem praeterea florem nobilitatis ac iuventutis, tum optimorum civium exercitus; qui si viverent, quamvis iniqua condicione pacis (mihi enim omnis pax cum civibus bello civili utilior videbatur) rem publicam
38 hodie teneremus. Quae sententia si valuisset ac non

[1] The summer of 49 B.C., when C. joined the other Pompeians in Epirus before the battle of Pharsalia in 48.

of Caesar? You seem to me somewhat disturbed: have you some secret fear this charge may seem to attach to you? I free you from apprehension: no one will ever believe it; it is not your nature to deserve well of the State: as authors of that most glorious deed the State possesses most illustrious men: I only say you are glad of it, I do not contend you did it.

I have replied to his greatest charges; now I must also reply to what remains.

XV. You reproached me with the camp of Pompeius and with all that time.[1] If at that time indeed, as I have said, my advice and influence had prevailed you would to-day be in want, we should be free, the State would not have lost so many leaders and armies. For I confess that, foreseeing what actually happened, I was filled with the sadness other loyal citizens would have felt, had they foreseen the same. I grieved, I grieved, Conscript Fathers, that the State, saved formerly by your and my counsels, should shortly perish. Not that I was indeed so ignorant and inexperienced as to despair through desire of life, the continuance of which would overwhelm me with anguish, the loss set me free from all troubles. It was those most eminent men, the beacon-lights of the State, I wished to preserve alive, so many consulars, so many ex-praetors, so many most honourable Senators, all the flower too of our nobility and youth, as well as the armies of loyal citizens, since were they alive now, however harsh were the conditions of peace—for to me any peace with citizens seemed more profitable than civil war—we should be holding fast the republic to-day. Had that opinion prevailed, and

ei maxime mihi, quorum ego vitae consulebam, spe
victoriae elati obstitissent, ut alia omittam, tu certe
numquam in hoc ordine vel potius numquam in hac
urbe mansisses. At vero Cn. Pompei voluntatem a
me alienabat oratio mea. An ille quemquam plus
dilexit, cum ullo aut sermones aut consilia contulit
saepius? Quod quidem erat magnum, de summa re
publica dissentientes in eadem consuetudine amicitiae
permanere. Ego, quid ille, et contra ille, quid ego
sentirem et spectarem, videbat. Ego incolumitati
civium primum, ut postea dignitati possemus, ille
praesenti dignitati potius consulebat. Quod autem
habebat uterque, quid sequeretur, idcirco tolerabilior
39 erat nostra dissensio. Quid vero ille singularis vir
ac paene divinus de me senserit, sciunt, qui eum de
Pharsalia fuga Paphum persecuti sunt. Numquam
ab eo mentio de me nisi honorifica, nisi plena
amicissimi desiderii, cum me vidisse plus fateretur,
se speravisse meliora. Et eius viri nomine me
insectari audes, cuius me amicum, te sectorem esse
fateare?

XVI. Sed omittatur bellum illud, in quo tu
nimium felix fuisti. Ne de iocis quidem respondebo,
quibus me in castris usum esse dixisti. Erant quidem
illa castra plena curae; verum tamen homines,
quamvis in turbidis rebus sint, tamen, si modo
40 homines sunt, interdum animis relaxantur. Quod
autem idem maestitiam meam reprehendit, idem

had not they, for whose lives I was anxious, elated by the hope of victory, been my principal opponents, then, to say nothing of other results, you at any rate would never have remained here in this body, or rather never in this city. But, you say, my style of talking alienated Pompeius from me. Was there any man he loved more? any man with whom he shared his talk or his counsels more often? And indeed it was a great thing that men who were at variance on the highest matters of State should retain an unbroken intimacy of friendship. I saw what his feelings and objects were, and on the other hand he saw mine. I thought of the safety of citizens first of all that we might afterwards think of their dignity; he rather of their present dignity. But the definiteness of the aim on either side made our disagreement the more endurable. But the feelings towards me of that pre-eminent and almost godlike man are known to those that followed him during the time of his flight from Pharsalia to Paphos. There was never any mention by him of me except with honour, except full of the most friendly regret, while he acknowledged I had seen further, but that he had indulged in happier hopes. And then do you dare to attack me in the name of that man, whose friend you confess I was, while you were the buyer of his confiscated goods?

XVI. But let us pass over that war in which you were unduly lucky. I will not reply even with regard to the jests you said I made in the camp. That camp was indeed full of care; but men, in however troublous times—if only they are human—sometimes relax their minds. But as the same man

iocum, magno argumento est me in utroque fuisse moderatum.

Hereditates mihi negasti venire. Utinam hoc tuum verum crimen esset! plures amici mei et necessarii viverent. Sed qui istuc tibi venit in mentem? Ego enim amplius sestertium ducentiens acceptum hereditatibus rettuli. Quamquam in hoc genere fateor feliciorem esse te. Me nemo nisi amicus fecit heredem, ut cum illo commodo, si quod erat, animi quidam dolor iungeretur; te is, quem tu vidisti numquam, L. Rubrius Casinas fecit heredem.
41 Et quidem vide, quam te amarit is, qui albus aterne fuerit ignoras. Fratris filium praeterit, Q Fufi, honestissimi equitis Romani suique amicissimi, quem palam heredem semper factitarat, ne nominat quidem; te, quem numquam viderat aut certe numquam salutaverat, fecit heredem. Velim mihi dicas, nisi molestum est, L. Turselius qua facie fuerit, qua statura, quo municipio, qua tribu. "Nihil scio," inquies, "nisi quae praedia habuerit." Is igitur fratrem exheredans te faciebat heredem? In multas praeterea pecunias alienissimorum hominum vi eiectis veris heredibus, tamquam heres esset, invasit.
42 Quamquam hoc maxime admiratus sum, mentionem te hereditatum ausum esse facere, cum ipse hereditatem patris non adisses.

XVII. Haec ut colligeres, homo amentissime, tot

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[1] It was considered derogatory by the Romans not to be mentioned in a friend's will.

[2] Proverbial of complete ignorance; cf. Cat. 93.

[3] Probably there was no estate, but C. means, either that A. was not mentioned in his father's will, or (so Dr. Reid) that, the estate being bankrupt, A., though made heir, refused to take possession, thus casting on his father the stigma of bankruptcy.

criticises both my sadness and my jests, it is a great proof that I was moderate in both.

You said no inheritances come my way.[1] Would this your charge were true! more friends and relations of mine would be living. But how did that occur to you? By inheritances I have entered in my accounts as received more than twenty million sesterces. However, in this particular I acknowledge your greater good fortune. Me none but a friend made his heir, so that with that benefit, such as it was, some sorrow might be allied; you Lucius Rubrius Casinas, a man you have never seen, made his heir. And mark too how the man loved you, a man the very colour of whose skin[2] you do not know. He passes over his brother's son: the son of Quintus Fufius, a most honourable Roman knight, and his own very dear friend, whom he had always openly proclaimed his heir, he does not even name; you whom he had never seen, or at any rate never visited, he made heir. Please tell me, if it is no trouble, the features of Lucius Turselius, his stature, his township, his tribe. "I know nothing," you will say; "except what farms he had." This then is why, disinheriting his brother, he made you his heir? And many sums besides belonging to total strangers, when he had ousted the true heirs, he seized, as if he were the heir. And yet this is what I have particularly marvelled at, your daring to mention inheritances when you yourself had not entered into your father's inheritance.[3]

XVII. Was it to rake together these charges,

dies in aliena villa declamasti? Quamquam tu quidem, ut tui familiarissimi dictitant, vini exhalandi, non ingenii acuendi causa declamas. At vero adhibes ioci causa magistrum suffragio tuo et compotorum tuorum rhetorem, cui concessisti, ut in te, quae vellet, diceret, salsum omnino hominem, sed materia facilis est in te et in tuos dicta dicere. Vide autem, quid intersit inter te et avum tuum. Ille sensim dicebat, quod causae prodesset; tu cursim
43 dicis aliena. At quanta merces rhetori data est! Audite, audite, patres conscripti, et congnoscite rei publicae vulnera. Duo milia iugerum campi Leontini Sex. Clodio rhetori adsignasti, et quidem immunia, ut populi Romani tanta mercede nihil sapere disceres. Num etiam hoc, homo audacissime, ex Caesaris commentariis?

Sed dicam alio loco et de Leontino agro et de Campano, quos iste agros ereptos rei publicae turpissimis possessoribus inquinavit. Iam enim, quoniam criminibus eius satis respondi, de ipso emendatore et correctore nostro quaedam dicenda sunt. Nec enim omnia effundam, ut, si saepius decertandum sit, ut erit, semper novus veniam; quam facultatem mihi multitudo istius vitiorum peccatorumque largitur.

44 XVIII. Visne igitur te inspiciamus a puero? Sic opinor; a principo ordiamur. Tenesne memoria

that you, you utter madman, spent so many days declaiming in another man's villa? And yet in your case, as your most familiar friends are always saying, you practise declamation to evaporate your wine, not to sharpen your wits. Yet by way of a jest you call in an instructor, a man whom you and your boon-companions voted to be a rhetorician, whom you allowed to say what he wished against you—a witty fellow no doubt, but material lies ready to hand for witticisms against you and your friends. Now mark the difference between you and your grandfather. He said deliberately what advanced his case: you at haphazard say what is irrelevant to it. And what a fee was paid the rhetorician! Listen, listen, Conscript Fathers, and appreciate the wounds of the State. Two thousand acres of Leontine land you assigned to Sextus Clodius the rhetorician, and that exempt from taxes, so that, for such a fee paid by the Roman people, you might learn to be a fool. Was this too, you most audacious fellow, derived from Caesar's note-books?

But I will speak in another place both of the Leontine and the Campanian lands, those lands he robbed from the State, and has defiled with the infamy of their occupants. For now, since I have sufficiently answered his charges, our reformer and censor himself calls for some few remarks. For I shall not squander my whole store, so that, if I have to contend with him frequently, as I shall, I may still come always with something fresh: the abundance of his vices and misdoings offers liberal opportunity.

XVIII. Would you have us then examine you from your boyhood? Yes, I think: let us set out from the beginning. Do you remember that, while

praetextatum te decoxisse? "Patris," inquies, "ista culpa est." Concedo. Etenim est pietatis plena defensio. Illud tamen audaciae tuae, quod sedisti in quattuordecim ordinibus, cum esset lege Roscia decoctoribus certus locus constitutus, quamvis quis fortunae vitio, non suo decoxisset. Sumpsisti virilem, quam statim muliebrem togam reddidisti. Primo vulgare scortum, certa flagitii merces, nec ea parva; sed cito Curio intervenit, qui te a meretricio quaestu abduxit et, tamquam stolam dedisset, in matrimonio
45 stabili et certo collocavit. Nemo umquam puer emptus libidinis causa tam fuit in domini potestate quam tu in Curionis. Quotiens te pater eius domu sua eiecit, quotiens custodes posuit, ne limen intrares! cum tu tamen nocte socia, hortante libidine, cogente mercede per tegulas demitterere. Quae flagitia domus illa diutius ferre non potuit. Scisne me de rebus mihi notissimis dicere? Recordare tempus illud, cum pater Curio maerens iacebat in lecto, filius se ad pedes meos prosternens lacrimans te mihi commendabat, orabat, ut te[1] contra suum patrem, si sestertium sexagiens peteret, defenderem; tantum enim se pro te intercessisse dicebat. Ipse autem amore ardens confirmabat, quod deside-

[1] *Se* (MSS.); *te* (Madv.)

[1] The law of L. Roscius Otho, the tribune, passed in 67 B.C., and assigning to knights the 14 rows in the theatre behind the orchestra where senators sat.

[2] If "*orabat ut se defenderet . . . si peteret*" be read, the meaning would be that the younger Curio begged C. to de-

yet in your boyish gown, you were bankrupt. "That is my father's fault," you will say. I grant it, for it is a defence full of filial piety. But this touches your own native audacity, your sitting in the fourteen rows although by the Roscian law[1] a particular place had been assigned to bankrupts, however much a man had gone bankrupt by fault of fortune, not by his own. You assumed a man's gown, and at once turned it into a harlot's. At first you were a common prostitute, the fee for your infamies was fixed, and that not small; but Curio quickly turned up, who withdrew you from your meretricious traffic, and, as if he had given you a matron's robe, established you in an enduring and stable wedlock. No boy ever bought for libidinous purposes was ever so much in the power of his master as you were in Curio's. How often did his father eject you from his house, how often did he set watchmen that you might not cross his threshold! while you nevertheless, with night as your abettor, at the bidding of lust, and the compulsion of your pay, were let down through the tiles. These infamies that house could bear no longer. Do you know I am speaking of things well known to me? Recall that time when Curio the father, sick at heart, was lying on his bed: his son, throwing himself at my feet, with tears commended you to me; he implored me to defend you[2] against his own father in case he should sue you for six million: for this, he said, was the amount for which he had become your surety. But for himself, in the ardour of his passion he assured me he would go into

fend him against his father's anger if he, the son, begged him to repay what the son had been compelled to pay as A.'s surety.

rium tui discidii ferre non posset, se in exilium itu-
46 rum. Quo tempore ego quanta mala florentissimae familiae sedavi vel potius sustuli! Patri persuasi, ut aes alienum filii dissolveret, redimeret adulescentem summa spe et animi et ingenii praeditum rei familiaris facultatibus eumque non modo tua familiaritate, sed etiam congressione patrio iure et potestate prohiberet. Haec tu cum per me acta meminisses, nisi illis, quos videmus, gladiis confideres, maledictis me provocare ausus esses?

47 XIX. Sed iam stupra et flagitia omittamus; sunt quaedam, quae honeste non possum dicere; tu autem eo liberior, quod ea in te admisisti, quae a verecundo inimico audire non posses. Sed reliquum vitae cursum videte; quem quidem celeriter perstringam. Ad haec enim, quae in civili bello in maximis rei publicae miseriis fecit, et ad ea, quae cotidie facit, festinat animus. Quae peto ut, quamquam multo notiora vobis quam mihi sunt, tamen, ut facitis, attente audiatis. Debet enim talibus in rebus excitare animos non cognitio solum rerum, sed etiam recordatio. Etsi incidamus, opinor, media, ne nimis sero ad extrema veniamus.

48 Intimus erat in tribunatu Clodio, qui sua erga me beneficia commemorat; eius omnium incendiorum fax, cuius etiam domi iam tum quiddam molitus est. Quid dicam, ipse optime intellegit. Inde iter Alexandriam contra senatus auctoritatem, contra rem

[1] C.'s bitter enemy, and the author of his exile.

[2] Probably an intrigue with Fulvia, the wife of Clodius.

exile, as he could not endure the regret of being parted from you. How great were the ills of a most prosperous family I at that time mitigated, or rather cured! I persuaded the father to discharge his son's debt; to redeem by his family resources a young man of the greatest promise both of heart and intellect; and by the rights and authority of a father to keep him, not merely from familiarity, but even from meeting with you. Remembering that this was done through me, if you were not trusting in the swords we see yonder, would you have dared to assail me with abuse?

XIX. But let us now dismiss his whoredoms and outrages; there are some things I cannot speak of with decency; you, however, have greater freedom because the acts of which you have been guilty are such as you would never hear from the lips of a modest enemy. But regard the rest of his life, which I will quickly touch upon. For my mind hastens to his acts in the civil war amid the crowning misery of the State, and to the acts he is doing daily. As to these, though they are much better known to you than to me, yet I beg you to listen to me attentively, as you are doing. For in such matters our minds ought to be stirred, not only by the knowledge of things, but also by their recollection. We must, however, I think, cut short the middle of the story that we may not arrive too late at the end.

He was intimate in the tribuneship with Clodius,[1] though he recounts his services to me; he was the firebrand of that man's incendiary acts, and it was at his house too that he even then attempted a certain deed.[2] What I mean he himself best understands. Then he journeyed to Alexandria, in disregard of the Senate's authority, in disregard of the interests of

publicam et religiones; sed habebat ducem Gabinium, quicum quidvis rectissime facere posset. Qui tum inde reditus aut qualis? Prius in ultimam Galliam ex Aegypto quam domum. Quae autem domus? Suam enim quisque domum tum optinebat, nec erat usquam tua. Domum dico? quid erat in terris, ubi in tuo pedem poneres praeter unum Misenum, quod cum sociis tamquam Sisaponem tenebas?

49 XX. Venisti e Gallia ad quaesturam petendam. Aude dicere te prius ad parentem tuam venisse quam ad me. Acceperam iam ante Caesaris litteras, ut mihi satis fieri paterer a te; itaque ne loqui quidem sum te passus de gratia. Postea sum cultus a te, tu a me observatus in petitione quaesturae. Quo quidem tempore P. Clodium adprobante populo Romano in foro es conatus occidere, cumque eam rem tua sponte conarere, non inpulsu meo, tamen ita praedicabas, te non existimare, nisi illum interfecisses, umquam mihi pro tuis in me iniuriis satis esse facturum. In quo demiror, cur Milonem inpulsu meo rem illam egisse dicas, cum te ultro mihi idem illud deferentem numquam sim adhortatus. Quamquam, si in eo perseverares, ad tuam gloriam rem illam referri

50 malebam quam ad meam gratiam. Quaestor es factus; deinde continuo sine senatus consulto, sine

[1] The Sibylline books had forbidden the restoration of Ptolemy Auletes by force of arms to the throne of Egypt, and the Senate had refused to do so. C. explains the *religio* in *Epp. ad Fam.* II. 1 and 2.

[2] Before the confiscations.

[3] *i.e.* held in partnership with his creditors. Sisapo was a town in Hispania Baetica where were cinnabar mines worked by a company.

the State, and the sanctions of religion;[1] but he had as leader Gabinius, with whom whatever he might do was entirely right. How did he return, or in what style? He went from Egypt to furthest Gaul before going home. But what home? For every man possessed his own home then,[2] and nowhere was there one of yours. Home do I say? What spot of earth was there where you could plant your foot on your own property except Misenum alone, and that was a sort of Sisapo[3] which you shared with partners.

XX. You came out of Gaul to stand for the quaestorship. Say, if you dare, that you visited your mother before me! I had previously received a letter from Caesar, asking me to admit your overtures: so I did not allow you even to mention reconciliation. After that I was courted by you, you were befriended by me in your candidature for the quaestorship. It was just at that time that, with the approval of the Roman people, you attempted to slay Publius Clodius in the Forum, and, although you attempted that deed of your own motion, and not at my instigation, yet you professed your belief that, except by slaying him, you could never make amends for your wrongs[4] against me. As to that indeed I wonder why you say Milo did that deed at my instigation, although, when you voluntarily offered me the same service, I never gave you encouragement. However, should you persist in your purpose, I preferred it should go to the credit of your own honour rather than that of any gratitude towards myself. You were appointed quaestor; then at once, without decree of the Senate, without drawing of lots,[5]

[4] Probably A.'s intimacy with C.'s enemy Clodius.

[5] The quaestors divided the provinces by lot.

sorte, sine lege ad Caesarem cucurristi. Id enim unum in terris egestatis, aeris alieni, nequitiae perditis vitae rationibus perfugium esse ducebas. Ibi te cum et illius largitionibus et tuis rapinis explevisses, si hoc est explere, quod statim effundas advolasti egens ad tribunatum, ut in eo magistratu, si posses, viri tui similis esses.

XXI. Accipite nunc, quaeso, non ea, quae ipse in se atque in domesticum decus[1] inpure et intemperanter, sed quae in nos fortunasque nostras, id est in universam rem publicam, impie ac nefarie fecerit; ab huius enim scelere omnium malorum principium
51 natum reperietis. Nam, cum L. Lentulo C. Marcello consulibus Kalendis Ianuariis labentem et prope cadentem rem publicam fulcire cuperetis ipsique C. Caesari, si sana mente esset, consulere velletis, tum iste venditum atque emancipatum tribunatum consiliis vestris opposuit cervicesque suas ei subiecit securi, qua multi minoribus in peccatis occiderunt. In te, M. Antoni, id decrevit senatus, et quidem incolumis nondum tot luminibus extinctis, quod in hostem togatum decerni est solitum more maiorum. Et tu apud patres conscriptos contra me dicere ausus es, cum ab hoc ordine ego conservator essem, tu hostis rei publicae indicatus? Commemoratio illius tui

[1] *Dedecus* (Vat. MS.). The correction in Madvig's

[1] Curio. In his tribuneship in 50 B.C. he had deserted the interests of the Senate for those of Caesar, and was also under suspicion of bribery.

[2] *Dent operam consules ne quid respublica detrimenti capiat* (let the consuls see to it that the State suffer no harm). This

without any legal title, you ran off to Caesar; for that, you thought, was the one refuge in the world your ruined resources possessed from need, debt, and iniquity. When you had filled yourself up there both with his largesses and your own robberies (if one can speak of filling up with what you gorge, to disgorge immediately), you fled in your need to the tribuneship, that you might, if you could, be in that magistracy like your husband.[1]

XXI. Hear now, I pray you, the record, not of the impurity and intemperance with which he disgraced himself and his own family, but of his disloyalty and crimes against us and our fortunes, that is, against the whole State; for from this man's misdeeds you will find sprang the beginning of all our ills. For when, in the consulship of Lucius Lentulus and Caius Marcellus, on the Kalends of January, you were anxious to prop up the State, tottering as it was and well nigh falling, and were willing, if he were in his senses, to have agreed to the interests of Caius Caesar himself, then that fellow set the tribuneship, which he had sold and subjected to a master, in opposition to your counsels, and laid his own neck under the axe whereby many in less offence have perished. Against *you*, Marcus Antonius, the Senate —and it was then still intact, its many lights not yet quenched—passed the decree[2] usually made against a civilian enemy by custom of our ancestors. And have *you* dared to speak against me before the Conscript Fathers, though I was by this body adjudged a saviour, you an enemy of the State? Allusion to

emergency decree gave the consuls a Dictator's powers, including that of life and death, over an enemy (*hostis*) citizen within the walls (*togatus*).

sceleris intermissa est, non memoria deleta. Dum genus hominum, dum populi Romani nomen extabit (quod quidem erit, si per te licebit, sempiternum),
52 tua illa pestifera intercessio nominabitur. Quid cupide a senatu, quid temere fiebat, cum tu unus adulescens universum ordinem decernere de salute rei publicae prohibuisti, neque semel, sed saepius, neque tu tecum de senatus auctoritate agi passus es? Quid autem agebatur, nisi ne deleri et everti rem publicam funditus velles? Cum te neque principes civitatis rogando neque maiores natu monendo neque frequens senatus agendo de vendita atque addicta sententia movere potuisset, tum illud multis rebus ante temptatis necessario tibi vulnus inflictum est, quod paucis ante te, quorum incolumis fuit nemo;
53 tum contra te dedit arma hic ordo consulibus reliquisque imperiis et potestatibus; quae non effugisses, nisi te ad arma Caesaris contulisses.

XXII. Tu, tu, inquam, M. Antoni, princeps C. Caesari omnia perturbare cupienti causam belli contra patriam inferendi dedisti. Quid enim aliud ille dicebat, quam causam sui dementissimi consilii et facti adferebat, nisi quod intercessio neglecta, ius tribunicium sublatum, circumscriptus a senatu esset Antonius? Omitto, quam haec falsa, quam levia, praesertim cum omnino nulla causa iusta cuiquam esse possit contra patriam arma capiendi. Sed nihil

[1] A. as tribune vetoed the proceedings of the Senate which had made a decree that Caesar should disband his army.
[2] To Caesar.

that crime of yours has ceased, it has not been wiped out of memory. While the race of men, while the name of the Roman people shall exist—and, if you permit it, it shall be everlasting—that deadly veto[1] of yours will be spoken of. What passionate or rash action was being taken by the Senate when you—a single youth—forbade the whole order passing a decree concerning the safety of the State, and that not once, but several times, and refused all negotiations with you about the authority of the Senate? Yet what was their aim except to prevent you from seeking the utter destruction and overthrow of the State? It was when neither the chief men of the community by entreaty, nor your elders by advice, nor a crowded Senate by deliberation on the veto which you had sold and delivered[2] could move you—it was *then*, when many efforts had been made, that blow was necessarily dealt you, which had been dealt to few before, of whom not one escaped—it was *then* this order put weapons in the hands of the consuls, and the other powers, military and civil, weapons you would not have escaped had you not betaken yourself to Caesar's camp.

XXII. You, you, I say, it was, Marcus Antonius, who most of all gave Caius Caesar, aiming as he did at general confusion, a pretext for waging war against his country. For what other reason did he allege? what reason for his most crazy policy and actions did he present but the disregard of the tribune's veto, the destruction of the rights of the tribunes, and the restriction by the Senate of Antonius's power? I pass over the falsity, the triviality, of these pretexts, all the more because no just cause whatever can exist for any man's taking up arms against his country.

de Caesare; tibi certe confitendum est causam
perniciosissimi belli in persona tua constitisse. O
54 miserum te, si haec intellegis, miseriorem, si non
intellegis hoc litteris mandari, hoc memoriae prodi,
huius rei ne posteritatem quidem omnium saeculorum
umquam immemorem fore, consules ex Italia ex-
pulsos cumque iis Cn. Pompeium, quod imperii populi
Romani decus ac lumen fuit, omnes consulares, qui
per valetudinem exequi cladem illam fugamque
potuissent, praetores, praetorios, tribunos pl., mag-
nam partem senatus, omnem subolem iuventutis
unoque verbo rem publicam expulsam atque exter-
55 minatam suis sedibus! Ut igitur in seminibus est
causa arborum et stirpium, sic huius luctuosissimi
belli semen tu fuisti. Doletis tris exercitus populi
Romani interfectos; interfecit Antonius. Desideratis
clarissimos cives; eos quoque nobis eripuit Antonius.
Auctoritas huius ordinis adflicta est; adflixit An-
tonius. Omnia denique, quae postea vidimus (quid
autem mali non vidimus?), si recte ratiocinabimur,
uni accepta referemus Antonio. Ut Helena Troianis,
sic iste huic rei publicae belli causa, causa pestis
atque exitii fuit. Reliquae partes tribunatus principii
similes. Omnia perfecit, quae senatus salva re
publica ne fieri possent providerat.

56 XXIII. Cuius tamen scelus in scelere cognoscite.
Restituebat multos calamitosos. In iis patrui nulla

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[1] At Pharsalia, Thapsus, and Munda.

[2] In recalling condemned exiles and not including his own uncle.

But let me say nothing of Caesar: you at least must confess that the excuse for a most pernicious war centred in your person. O wretched man if you understand these things, O more wretched still if you do not understand that this is committed to record, this is handed down to memory, that of this posterity even to the remotest generation will not be forgetful, that the consuls were driven from Italy, and with them Cnaeus Pompeius, he that was the glory and the light of the empire of the Roman people; that all the consulars whose health enabled them to effect that disastrous flight, praetors, ex-praetors, tribunes of the people, a great part of the Senate, all the breed of our youth, in one word the State had been driven and expelled from its home. As then there is in seeds the principle of trees and plants, so of this most mournful war were *you* the seed. You grieve, Conscript Fathers, that three armies of the Roman people have been slaughtered:[1] Antonius slaughtered them. You mourn the noblest of your citizens: Antonius robbed us of them too. The authority of this our order has been overthrown; Antonius overthrew it. In a word, all we have seen afterwards—and what evil have we not seen?—if we shall reason rightly, we shall credit to Antonius alone. As Helen was to the Trojans, so that man has been to this State the cause of war, the cause of ruin and destruction. The sequel of his tribuneship was like the beginning. He effected everything that the Senate, while there was still a constitution, had rendered impossible.

XXIII. Yet mark his crimes within crimes.[2] He reinstated many unfortunate persons. Among them is no mention of his uncle. If he must be severe, why

mentio. Si severus, cur non in omnis? si misericors, cur non in suos? Sed omitto ceteros; Licinium Denticulum de alea condemnatum, conlusorem suum, restituit; quasi vero ludere cum condemnato non liceret; sed ut, quod in alea perdiderat, beneficio legis dissolveret. Quam attulisti rationem populo Romano, cur eum restitui oporteret? Absentem, credo, in reos relatum; rem indicta causa iudicatam; nullum fuisse de alea lege iudicium; vi oppressum et armis; postremo, quod de patruo tuo dicebatur, pecunia iudicium esse corruptum. Nihil horum. At vir bonus et re publica dignus. Nihil id quidem ad rem; ego tamen, quoniam condemnatum esse pro nihilo est, ita ignoscerem. Hominem omnium nequissimum, qui non dubitaret vel in foro alea ludere, lege, quae est de alea, condemnatum qui in integrum restituit, is non apertissime studium suum
57 ipse profitetur?

In eodem vero tribunatu, cum Caesar in Hispaniam proficiscens huic conculcandam Italiam tradidisset, quae fuit eius peragratio itinerum, lustratio municipiorum! Scio me in rebus celebratissimis omnium sermone versari eaque, quae dico dicturusque sum, notiora esse omnibus, qui in Italia tum fuerunt, quam mihi, qui non fui. Notabo tamen singulas res, etsi nullo modo poterit oratio mea satis facere vestrae scientiae. Etenim quod umquam in terris tantum flagitium extitisse auditum est, tantam turpitudinem, tantum dedecus?

58 XXIV. Vehebatur in essedo tribunus pl.; lictores

[1] This assertion is false; C. was at Cumae (*ad Att.* x. 10).

not against all? if pitiful, why not towards his own kin? But I pass over other cases: in that of Licinius Denticulus, his fellow-gambler, a man convicted of dicing, he reinstated him—on the plea, no doubt, that it was illegal to gamble with a convict—but in fact that, thanks to a law, he might discharge a gaming debt. What reason did you give the Roman people why he should be reinstated? He was prosecuted, I suppose, in his absence: the matter was decided without his case being heard; the prosecution for gambling was legally null and void; he was crushed by force of arms; finally, as was said in your uncle's case, the verdict was corrupt. None of these excuses. Ah, then he was a good man, and a deserving citizen. That indeed is nothing to the point, but, seeing that having been convicted goes for nothing, I would, if that were his character, be lenient. But when an utter reprobate, one who would not even shrink from gambling in the Forum, is convicted under the Gambling law, does not the man who reinstates him in all his rights most openly proclaim his own bias?

Then in the same tribuneship, after Caesar in setting out for Spain had surrendered Italy to this man to be trampled under foot, what a progress there was in his journeys! what a traversing of the boroughs! I know I am dealing with matters much discussed in general talk, and that what I say, and shall say, is better known to all then in Italy than to me who was absent.[1] Yet I will notice individual points, although my account can in no way come up to your knowledge. For what outrage so monstrous was ever heard to have existed in the world? what turpitude? what dishonour?

XXIV. A tribune of the people was driven in a

laureati antecedebant, inter quos aperta lectica mima portabatur, quam ex oppidis municipales homines honesti ob viam necessario prodeuntes non noto illo et mimico nomine, sed Volumniam consalutabant. Sequebatur raeda cum lenonibus, comites nequissimi; reiecta mater amicam inpuri filii tamquam nurum sequebatur. O miserae mulieris fecunditatem calamitosam! Horum flagitiorum iste vestigiis omnia municipia, praefecturas, colonias, totam denique Italiam inpressit.

59 Reliquorum factorum eius, patres conscripti, difficilis est sane reprehensio et lubrica. Versatus in bello est; saturavit se sanguine dissimillimorum sui civium; felix fuit, si potest ulla in scelere esse felicitas. Sed quoniam veteranis cautum esse volumus, quamquam dissimilis est militum causa et tua (illi secuti sunt, tu quaesisti ducem), tamen, ne apud illos me in invidiam voces, nihil de genere belli dicam. Victor e Thessalia Brundisium cum legionibus revertisti. Ibi me non occidisti. Magnum beneficium! potuisse enim fateor. Quamquam nemo erat eorum, qui tum tecum fuerunt, qui mihi non censeret parci

60 oportere; tanta est enim caritas patriae, ut vestris etiam legionibus sanctus essem, quod eam a me servatam esse meminissent. Sed fac id te dedisse mihi, quod non ademisti, meque a te habere vitam, quia non a te sit erepta; licuitne mihi per tuas contu-

[1] Acc. to Pliny (*N.H.* 8. 21) and Plut. (*Ant.* 9), drawn by lions.

[2] As for a victory. According to Plut. (*Q.R.* 81) a tribune could not have lictors, or use a horse or carriage, or wear a *praetexta*, or indulge in any display.

[3] See n. 1, p. 84.

[4] C. is afraid of offending Caesar's veterans.

Gaulish chariot[1]; laurel-crowned[2] lictors preceded him; in their midst a female mime was carried in an open litter, a woman whom citizens from the towns, decent men, coming out perforce to meet her, saluted, not by her known professional name, but as Volumnia.[3] There followed a travelling-coach of pimps, a most iniquitous retinue; a mother set in the rear attended on her vicious son's mistress as though she were a daughter-in-law. O wretched mother, disastrously fertile! With the imprints of these infamies did that man set his seal on all the boroughs, praefectures, and colonies, in a word on the whole of Italy.

To reprobate the rest of his doings, Conscript Fathers, is truly a task at once difficult and hazardous.[4] He was occupied in war; he gorged himself with the blood of citizens most unlike himself; he was fortunate, if there can be any good fortune in crime. But, as we wish to regard the interests of the veterans—though the case of soldiers is different from yours: they followed a leader, you looked out for one—that you may not bring me into odium with them, I will say nothing as to the character of the war. You returned, a conqueror, from Thessaly with your legions to Brundisium. There you did not slay me. What a great "benefaction"![5] for I confess you could have done so. And yet none of those with you then but thought I ought to be spared; for so great is love of country that even to your legions I was sacred because they remembered that it had been saved by me. But grant you gave me what you did not take away, and that I owe you my life because you did not rob me of it; did your

[5] As to this see ch. 3. *ante*.

melias hoc tuum beneficium sic tueri, ut tuebar, praesertim cum te haec auditurum videres?

61 XXV. Venisti Brundisium, in sinum quidem et in complexum tuae mimulae. Quid est? num mentior? Quam miserum est id negare non posse, quod sit turpissimum confiteri! Si te municipiorum non pudebat, ne veterani quidem exercitus? Quis enim miles fuit, qui Brundisii illam non viderit? quis, qui nescierit venisse eam tibi tot dierum iter obviam gratulatum? quis, qui non indoluerit tam sero se, quam nequam hominem secutus esset, cognoscere?

62 Italiae rursus percursatio eadem comite mima, in oppida militum crudelis et misera deductio, in urbe auri, argenti maximeque vini foeda direptio. Accessit, ut Caesare ignaro, cum esset ille Alexandriae, beneficio amicorum eius magister equitum constitueretur. Tum existimavit se suo iure cum Hippia vivere et equos vectigales Sergio mimo tradere. Tum sibi non hanc, quam nunc male tuetur, sed M. Pisonis domum, ubi habitaret, legerat. Quid ego istius decreta, quid rapinas, quid hereditatum possessiones datas, quid ereptas proferam? Cogebat egestas; quo se verteret, non habebat; nondum ei tanta a L. Rubrio, non a L. Turselio hereditas venerat; nondum in Cn. Pompei locum multorumque aliorum, qui aberant, repentinus heres successerat. Erat ei vivendum latronum ritu, ut tantum haberet, quantum rapere potuisset.

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[1] As being himself ἵππαρχος=*magister equitum*.

[2] The meaning of *equi vectigales* is uncertain. The meaning may be horses for public games (Mayor); or horses delivered by tributary States (Orelli). Hipp. and Serg. were actors. Juv. (6. 82) strangely takes "Hippia" as feminine.

[3] The house of Pompeius. This is "held with difficulty," as Sext. Pompeius, the son, claims it.

insults permit me to cherish this your "benefaction"—as I cherished it—aye, your insults, and that though you saw I should make this reply?

XXV. You came to Brundisium, that is to say, into the lap and into the embraces of your dear mime. What? do I lie? How wretched it is to be unable to deny what it is most disgraceful to confess! If you had no shame before the boroughs, had you none even before your army of veterans? For what soldier was there that did not see her at Brundisium? who that did not know she had come so many days' journey to congratulate you? who did not grieve to have been so late in discovering how villainous a man he followed? There was again a progress through Italy with the same mime as companion: into the towns a cruel and galling drafting of soldiers: in the city a shameful pillaging of gold, silver, and especially of wine. To this was added, without the knowledge of Caesar, because he was at Alexandria, his appointment by favour of Caesar's friends as master of the horse. Then he thought he might as of right live with Hippias,[1] and hand over the horses for hire[2] to Sergius the mime. At that time he had selected for his residence, not the house[3] he now holds with difficulty, but M. Piso's. Why should I bring forward the fellow's decrees, his robberies, his bestowing, his laying hands on inheritances? Need compelled him; he had nowhere to turn; not yet had ample inheritance come to him from Lucius Rubrius, from Lucius Turselius; not yet had he stepped, an upstart heir, into the shoes of Cnaeus Pompeius and of many other absent persons. He had to live after the fashion of brigands, so that he possessed just so much as he could plunder.

63 Sed haec, quae robustioris improbitatis sunt, omittamus; loquamur potius de nequissimo genere levitatis. Tu istis faucibus, istis lateribus, ista gladiatoria totius corporis firmitate tantum vini in Hippiae nuptiis exhauseras, ut tibi necesse esset in populi Romani conspectu vomere postridie. O rem non modo visu foedam, sed etiam auditu! Si inter cenam in ipsis tuis immanibus illis poculis hoc tibi accidisset, quis non turpe duceret? In coetu vero populi Romani negotium publicum gerens magister equitum, cui ructare turpe esset, is vomens frustis esculentis vinum redolentibus gremium suum et totum tribunal inplevit! Sed haec ipse fatetur esse in suis sordibus; veniamus ad splendidiora.

64 XXVI. Caesar Alexandria se recepit felix, ut sibi quidem videbatur; mea autem sententia, qui rei publicae sit hostis, felix esse nemo potest. Hasta posita pro aede Iovis Statoris bona Cn. Pompei (miserum me[1] consumptis enim lacrimis tamen infixus haeret animo dolor), bona, inquam, Cn. Pompei Magni voci acerbissimae subiecta praeconis! Una in illa re servitutis oblita civitas ingemuit, servientibusque animis, cum omnia metu tenerentur, gemitus tamen populi Romani liber fuit. Expectantibus omnibus, quisnam esset tam impius, tam demens tam dis hominibusque hostis, qui ad illud scelus sectionis auderet accedere, inventus est nemo praeter

[1] A spear was a symbol of a public auction, the custom being derived from sales of things captured in war.

But let us pass over these things: they are the proofs of a more robust improbity: let us speak rather of the vilest kind of vulgarity. You with that gorge of yours, with those lungs, with that gladiatorial strength of your whole body, had swallowed so much wine at Hippias' wedding that you were forced to vomit in the sight of the Roman people the next day. Oh, the hideousness of it, not only to see, but even to hear of! If during the banquet, in the very midst of those enormous potations of yours, this had happened to you, who would not think it disgraceful? But at an assembly of the Roman people, while in the conduct of public business, a master of the horse, for whom it would be disgraceful to belch, vomited and filled his own lap and the whole tribunal with fragments of food reeking of wine. However these things he himself confesses belong to his more ignoble doings; let us come to more brilliant ones.

XXVI. Caesar came back from Alexandria, happy, as he indeed fancied, but in my opinion no man that is an enemy of the State can be happy. The spear[1] was erected in front of the temple of Jupiter Stator, and the goods of Cnaeus Pompeius—alas! alas! for, when tears are spent, yet deep-seated grief abides—the goods, I say, of Cnaeus Pompeius the Great were submitted to the harsh announcement of the auctioneer. In that one matter forgetful of its slavery, the public groaned, and though their hearts were enslaved—since all things were possessed by fear—yet the groans of the Roman people were free. While all were waiting to see who could be so disloyal, so mad, so hostile to Gods and men, as boldly to support that criminal auction, not a single

Antonium, praesertim cum tot essent circum hastam illam, qui alia omnia auderent; unus inventus est, qui id auderet, quod omnium fugisset et reformi-
65 dasset audacia. Tantus igitur te stupor oppressit vel, ut verius dicam, tantus furor, ut primum, cum sector sis isto loco natus, deinde cum Pompei sector, non te exsecratum populo Romano, non detestabilem, non omnis tibi deos, non omnes homines et esse inimicos et futuros scias? At quam insolenter statim helluo invasit in eius viri fortunas, cuius virtute terribilior erat populus Romanus exteris gentibus, iustitia carior!

XXVII. In eius igitur viri copias cum se subito ingurgitasset, exsultabat gaudio persona de mimo modo egens, repente dives. Sed, ut est apud poëtam
66 nescio quem, "Male parta male dilabuntur." Incredibile ac simile portenti est, quonam modo illa tam multa quam paucis non dico mensibus, sed diebus effuderit. Maximus vini numerus fuit, permagnum optimi pondus argenti, pretiosa vestis, multa et lauta supellex et magnifica multis locis non illa quidem luxuriosi hominis, sed tamen abundantis. Horum paucis diebus nihil erat. Quae Charybdis tam vorax?
67 Charybdim dico? quae si fuit, animal unum fuit; Oceanus medius fidius vix videtur tot res tam dissipatas, tam distantibus in locis positas tam cito absorbere potuisse. Nihil erat clausum, nihil obsignatum, nihil scriptum. Apothecae totae nequissimis

[1] This is not true, as C. himself shows: cf. *Phil.* xiii. 5 (*sunt alii plures fortasse*).
[2] Of confiscated goods at auction.
[3] Cn. Naevius; cf. also Plaut. *Poen* 843 (*male partum male disperit*).

man was found save Antonius, and that too when there stood around that spear such a throng of men who were bold enough for anything besides; one single man was found[1] bold enough for that from which the audacity of all beside had shrunk back appalled. Did such stupidity, I say, overcome you, or—to speak more truly—such madness, as to leave you ignorant that, firstly, being a purchaser at all[2]—a man of your birth—and secondly the purchaser of Pompeius' goods, you have become an object of execration, of loathing to the Roman people, that all Gods, all men, are and will remain your enemies? But how insolently did the glutton at once take possession of the fortunes of the man by whose valour the Roman people was more dreaded by foreign races, by whose justice it was more endeared to them!

XXVII. When he had all at once begun to wallow in the ample wealth of that great man, he was transported with joy, the very character in a farce, now needy, suddenly rich. But—as some poet[3] says—"evil gains come to an evil end." It is incredible, and almost portentous how in so few days—I do not say months—he squandered so much property. There was an immense store of wine, a very great weight of the finest silver, a costly wardrobe, much elegant and magnificent furniture in many places, the belongings of a man not indeed lavish but fully supplied. Of these in a few days nothing remained. What Charybdis was so voracious? Charybdis do I say? if it ever existed, it was a single animal! an Ocean, so help me Heaven! scarce seems capable of having swallowed so quickly things so scattered, situated in so many different places. Nothing was locked up, nothing sealed, nothing catalogued. Whole wine-

hominibus condonabantur. Alia mimi rapiebant, alia mimae; domus erat aleatoribus referta, plena ebriorum; totos dies potabatur, atque id locis pluribus; suggerebantur etiam saepe (non enim semper iste felix) damna aleatoria. Conchyliatis Cn. Pompei peristromatis servorum in cellis lectos stratos videres. Quam ob rem desinite mirari haec tam celeriter esse consumpta. Non modo unius patrimonium quamvis amplum, ut illud fuit, sed urbes et regna celeriter tanta nequitia devorare potuisset. At idem aedes
68 etiam et hortos. O audaciam immanem! tu etiam ingredi illam domum ausus es, tu illud sanctissimum limen intrare, tu illarum aedium dis penatibus os inpurissimum ostendere? Quam domum aliquamdiu nemo adspicere poterat, nemo sine lacrimis praeterire, hac te in domo tam diu deversari non pudet, in qua, quamvis nihil sapias, tamen nihil tibi potest esse iucundum?

XXVIII. An tu, illa in vestibulo rostra [spolia][1] cum adspexisti, domum tuam te introire putas? Fieri non potest. Quamvis enim sine mente, sine sensu sis, ut es, tamen et te et tua et tuos nosti. Nec vero te umquam neque vigilantem neque in somnis credo posse mente consistere. Necesse est, quamvis sis, ut es, vinulentus[2] et furens, cum tibi obiecta sit species singularis viri, perterritum te de
69 somno excitari, furere etiam saepe vigilantem. Me

[1] *Rostran spolia* (Vat.), *rostra* (Orelli). *Spolia* is probably a gloss.
[2] *Violentus* (Vat.).

bins were made presents to the vilest characters. Some things actors looted, others actresses; the house was crammed with gamblers, full of drunkards; whole days there was drinking and that in many places; to crown all—for the fellow is not always lucky—were frequent gaming losses. In the garrets of slaves you would see beds covered with the purple tapestries of Cnaeus Pompeius. Wherefore cease to wonder these things were so quickly exhausted. Not a single patrimony alone, however ample, as that was, but cities and kingdoms such profusion could have swiftly devoured. But he also occupied the house and the gardens. What monstrous audacity! Did you so much as dare to put foot into that house; you to pass over that most sacred threshold; you to show your most profligate face to the household Gods of that dwelling? A while past no man could look at, none pass the house without tears—are you not ashamed to be so long an inmate in such a house, where, though you have no sense, none the less nothing can give you pleasure?

XXVIII. Do you, when in that forecourt you have seen ships' beaks and spoils, think you are entering your own house? It cannot be. However much you are without intelligence, without feeling, as you are, you still know both your own self, and your own belongings, and your own friends. And yet I do not believe that you, whether awake or asleep, can be easy in mind. However drunken and distracted you may be, as you are, it needs must be that, when the image of that matchless man is presented to you you should start from slumber in terror, often too feel distraught when

quidem miseret parietum ipsorum atque tectorum. Quid enim umquam domus illa viderat nisi pudicum, quid nisi ex optimo more et sanctissima disciplina? Fuit enim ille vir, patres conscripti, sicuti scitis, cum foris clarus, tum domi admirandus neque rebus externis magis laudandus quam institutis domesticis. Huius in sedibus pro cubiculis stabula, pro conclavibus popinae sunt. Etsi iam negat. Nolite quaerere; frugi factus est; illam mimam suam[1] suas res sibi habere iussit, ex duodecim tabulis clavis ademit, exegit. Quam porro spectatus civis, quam probatus! cuius ex omni vita nihil est honestius, quam quod cum mima
70 fecit divortium. At quam crebro usurpat: "Et consul et Antonius"! hoc est dicere: et consul et inpudicissimus, et consul et homo nequissimus. Quid est enim aliud Antonius? Nam, si dignitas significaretur in nomine, dixisset, credo, aliquando avus tuus se et consulem et Antonium. Numquam dixit. Dixisset etiam conlega meus, patruus tuus, nisi si tu es solus Antonius.

Sed omitto ea peccata, quae non sunt earum partium propria, quibus tu rem publicam vexavisti; ad ipsas tuas partes redeo, id est ad civile bellum, quod natum, conflatum, susceptum opera tua est.

71 XXIX. Cui bello cum propter timiditatem tuam, tum propter libidines defuisti. Gustaras civilem

[1] *Illam suam* (Vat. MS.); *illam mimam* (Halm.).

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[1] The words "keep your own property," and the taking away of keys, constituted a divorce. As Cytheris was not *uxor*, this is of course sarcasm.

[2] C. Ant., the colleague of C. in 63 B.C. in the consulship. See the Intr. to *Phil.* i. p. 2.

awake. As for me, I pity those very walls and that roof. For what had that house ever seen but what was pure? but what sprang from the most perfect morals and the holiest discipline? For that man, Conscript Fathers, was, as you know, alike illustrious abroad, and admirable at home, not more worthy of praise for his foreign achievements than for his domestic habits. In this fellow's abode brothels take the place of bedrooms, taprooms of dining-rooms. However, he now denies it. Don't enquire—he has become a sober character; that actress of his he has divorced;[1] under the Law of the Twelve Tables he has taken away her keys, has turned her out. What a sterling citizen he is henceforth! how tried and tested! a man whose whole life shows nothing more honourable than his divorce of a female mime! And how often does he use the phrase "Both consul and Antonius!" that is to say, "both consul and very lewdness," "both consul and very iniquity." For what else is Antonius? For if worth were signified in the name, your grandfather would, I suppose, have sometimes called himself, "both consul and Antonius." He never did so. My colleague too, your uncle,[2] would have done so, unless perchance you are the only Antonius.

But I pass over offences not peculiar to the political rôle in which you harassed the State: I return to your proper rôle, that is, to the civil war which was born, kindled, begun by your work.

XXIX. That war you took no part in, partly through cowardice,[3] more so through your lusts. You had

[3] C. refutes his own charge by saying in the next sentence that A. was in the front rank at Pharsalia. Plutarch (*Ant.* 8) also speaks of A.'s bravery.

sanguinem vel potius exorbueras; fueras in acie Pharsalica antesignanus; L. Domitium, clarissimum et nobilissimum virum, occideras, multosque praeterea, qui e proelio effugerant, quos Caesar ut non nullos fortasse servasset, crudelissime persecutus trucidaras. Quibus rebus tantis ac talibus gestis quid fuit causae, cur in Africam Caesarem non sequerere, cum praesertim belli pars tanta restaret? Itaque quem locum apud ipsum Caesarem post eius ex Africa reditum obtinuisti? quo numero fuisti? Cuius tu imperatoris quaestor fueras, dictatoris magister equitum, belli princeps, crudelitatis auctor, praedae socius, testamento, ut dicebas ipse, filius, appellatus es de pecunia, quam pro domo, pro hortis,
72 pro sectione debebas. Primo respondisti plane ferociter et, ne omnia videar contra te, prope modum aequa et iusta dicebas: "A me C. Caesar pecuniam? cur potius quam ego ab illo? an sine me ille vicit? At ne potuit quidem. Ego ad illum belli civilis causam attuli, ego leges perniciosas rogavi,[1] ego arma contra consules imperatoresque populi Romani, contra senatum populumque Romanum, contra deos patrios arasque et focos, contra patriam tuli. Num sibi soli vicit? Quorum facinus est commune, cur non sit eorum praeda communis?" Ius postulabas, sed quid ad rem? Plus ille poterat.

[1] *Ego . . rogavi* are wanting in the Vat. MS., but are quoted by Nonius.

tasted, or rather had drunk deeply, the blood of citizens: you had been in the lines of Pharsalia in the front rank; you had slain Lucius Domitius, a man most distinguished and noble; and many besides who had fled from the battle, whom Caesar would perhaps have spared, as he did some, you had most cruelly pursued and butchered. After so many brilliant exploits what reason was there why you should not follow Caesar into Africa, especially when so great a part of the war remained? Accordingly what place did you hold with Caesar himself after his return from Africa? In what account were you? Though when he was commander you had been his quaestor, when he was dictator, his master-of-horse, the chief mover of the war, the instigator of his cruelty, the partner in his plunder, though you were by his will, as you yourself stated, his adopted son, you were called upon for the money you owed for your house, for your gardens, for your purchases at auction. At first you answered pretty fiercely, and—for I would not appear to be always against you—you said what was almost fair and just. "Is it of me Caius Caesar asks for money? why not rather I from him? was it without me he conquered? Nay, it was even beyond his power. I brought him a pretext for civil war, I proposed pernicious laws, I took up arms against the consuls and generals of the Roman people, against the Senate and the Roman people, against my country's Gods and altars and hearths, against my country. Did he conquer for himself alone? Where men share in the crime, why are they not also to share in the booty?" You demanded your rights: but what has that to do with it? He was the stronger.

73 Itaque excussis tuis vocibus et ad te et ad praedes tuos milites misit, cum repente a te praeclara illa tabula prolata est. Qui risus hominum, tantam esse tabulam, tam varias, tam multas possessiones, ex quibus praeter partem Miseni nihil erat, quod, qui auctionaretur, posset suum dicere! Auctionis vero miserabilis adspectus; vestis Pompei non multa, eaque maculosa, eiusdem quaedam argentea vasa conlisa, sordidata mancipia, ut doleremus quicquam
74 esse ex illis reliquiis, quod videre possemus. Hanc tamen auctionem heredes L. Rubri decreto Caesaris prohibuerunt. Haerebat nebulo; quo se verteret, non habebat. Quin his ipsis temporibus domi Caesaris percussor ab isto missus deprehensus dicebatur esse cum sica; de quo Caesar in senatu aperte in te invehens questus est. Proficiscitur in Hispaniam Caesar paucis tibi ad solvendum propter inopiam tuam prorogatis diebus. Ne tum quidem sequeris. Tam bonus gladiator rudem tam cito? Hunc igitur quisquam, qui in suis partibus, id est in suis fortunis, tam timidus fuerit, pertimescat?

75 XXX. Profectus est aliquando tandem in Hispaniam; sed tuto, ut ait, pervenire non potuit. Quonam modo igitur Dolabella pervenit? Aut non suscipienda fuit ista causa, Antoni, aut, cum suscepisses, defendenda usque ad extremum. Ter depugnavit

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[1] Which was shared with A.'s creditors: cf. n. 3, p. 112.

[2] A. had dissipated all the rest of Pompeius' property: cf. ch. 27.

[3] Who had made A. his heir to the exclusion of his nephew: cf. ch. 16. The natural heirs appear to have objected to the sale.

So, having shaken off your expostulations, he sent soldiers, both to you and to your sureties, and then all of a sudden that wonderful catalogue of yours was produced. How men laughed that there should be such a long catalogue, such various articles, so many possessions out of which, except a share in the land at Misenum,[1] there was nothing the man who was putting them up for auction could call his own! And the auction itself was a miserable sight:[2] Pompeius' wardrobe, a scanty one, and that stained; some dinted silver vases of his, some shabby slaves, so that we grieved that anything remained of his for us to see. Yet this was the auction the heirs of Lucius Rubrius[3] stopped by Caesar's decree. The spendthrift was in a difficulty: he had nowhere to turn. Moreover at this very time an assassin sent by him was said to have been caught at Caesar's house dagger in hand; of which Caesar complained and openly attacked you in the Senate. Caesar sets out for Spain, having given you, because of your poverty, a few days' grace for payment. Not even then do you follow him. So stout a gladiator, and so quick a discharge?[4] And when he was so fearful in support of his own side – I mean of his own fortunes—is any man to stand in fear of *him*?

XXX. At length he did set out after all for Spain, but, as he says, he could not reach it in safety. How then did Dolabella reach it? Either you should never have adopted that cause, Antonius, or, having adopted it, you should have defended it to the last. Three times Caesar fought with

[4] The *rudis* was a wooden sword given to a gladiator on his discharge from service.

Caesar cum civibus, in Thessalia, Africa, Hispania. Omnibus adfuit his pugnis Dolabella, in Hispaniensi etiam vulnus accepit. Si de meo iudicio quaeris, nollem; sed tamen consilium a primo reprehendendum, laudanda constantia. Tu vero quid es? Cn. Pompei liberi tum primum patriam repetebant. Esto, fuerit haec partium causa communis. Repetebant praeterea deos patrios, aras, focos, larem suum familiarem, in quae tu invaseras. Haec cum peterent armis ii, quorum erant legibus (etsi in rebus iniquissimis quid potest esse aequi?), tamen quem erat aequissimum contra Cn. Pompei liberos pugnare,
76 quem? Te sectorem. An, cum tu Narbone mensas hospitum convomeres, Dolabella pro te in Hispania dimicaret?

Qui vero Narbone reditus! Etiam quaerebat, cur ego ex ipso cursu tam subito revertissem. Exposui nuper, patres conscripti, causam reditus mei; volui, si possem, etiam ante Kalendas Ianuarias prodesse rei publicae. Nam quod quaerebas, quo modo redissem: primum luce, non tenebris, deinde cum calceis et toga, nullis nec gallicis nec lacerna. At etiam adspicis me, et quidem, ut videris, iratus. Ne tu iam mecum in gratiam redeas, si scias, quam me pudeat nequitiae tuae, cuius te ipsum non pudet. Ex omnium omnibus flagitiis nullum turpius vidi, nullum audivi. Qui magister equitum fuisse tibi

[1] *i.e.* of the Caesarean party, and not affecting A. individually.

[2] On Sept. 2; cf. *Phil.* i. 1–3.

[3] *i.e.* in the dress of a dignified Roman. A mantle (Suet. *Aug.* 40) (*lacerna*), which Aug. prohibited in the forum, was regarded as effeminate and ostentatious (Margnardt 2. 568).

citizens, in Thessaly, Africa, Spain. At all these battles Dolabella was present; in the Spanish one he also received a wound. If you ask my opinion, I could wish he had not been present; yet, though policy may be originally blameable, steadfastness is laudable. But what are you? The sons of Cnaeus Pompeius were then seeking in the first place to recover their country. Good! let this be treated as your party's common concern.[1] They were seeking further to recover besides their country's Gods, altars, hearths, the household Gods of their home, all of which you had seized. When those, whose property they were by law, were seeking to recover these things by arms, who—though what justice can there be in a most unjust business—should most justly have fought against the sons of Cnaeus Pompeius? who? You, the purchaser. While you at Narbo were vomiting over the tables of your hosts, was Dolabella to be battling for you in Spain?

And what a return from Narbo! He even asked why *my* return, when actually on my journey, was so sudden. I have lately,[2] Conscript Fathers, explained the reason of my return: I wished, if I could, even before the Kalends of January to be of use to the State. As for your question how I had returned, first I returned in daylight, not in the dark; next in boots and with a toga, not in any Gaulish slippers or in a mantle.[3] And yet you look at me, and, as it seems, in anger. I am sure you would now be reconciled to me if you knew how ashamed I am of your misdoings, of which you yourself are not ashamed. Out of all outrages in the world I have seen nothing, heard of nothing, more disgraceful. You, who imagined you had been a

viderere, in proximum annum consulatum peteres vel potius rogares, per municipia coloniasque Galliae, e qua nos tum, cum consulatus petebatur, non rogabatur, petere consulàtum solebamus, cum gallicis et lacerna cucurristi.

77 XXXI. At videte levitatem hominis. Cum hora diei decima fere ad Saxa rubra venisset, delituit in quadam cauponula atque ibi se occultans perpotavit ad vesperam; inde cisio celeriter ad urbem advectus domum venit capite obvoluto. Ianitor: "Quis tu?" "A Marco tabellarius." Confestim ad eam, cuius causa venerat, deducitur[1] eique epistulam tradidit. Quam cum illa legeret flens (erat enim scripta amatorie; caput autem litterarum sibi cum illa mima posthac nihil futurum; omnem se amorem abiecisse illim atque in hanc transfudisse), cum mulier fleret uberius, homo misericors ferre non potuit, caput aperuit, in collum invasit. O hominem nequam! Quid enim aliud dicam? magis proprie nihil possum dicere. Ergo, ut te Catamitum, nec opinato cum te ostendisses, praeter spem mulier adspiceret, idcirco urbem terrore nocturno, Italiam multorum dierum
78 metu perturbasti? Et domi quidem causam amoris habuisti, foris etiam turpiorem, ne L. Plancus praedes tuos venderet. Productus autem in contionem a tribuno pl. cum respondisses te rei tuae

[1] This word is found in some of the MSS. only.

master of the horse, who were a candidate, or rather a beggar, for the next year's consulship, you, through the boroughs and colonies of Gaul, which we, when the consulship was canvassed for, not begged for, used to canvass, raced in Gaulish slippers and in a mantle.

XXXI. But regard the levity of the man! When about the tenth hour of the day he had reached Saxa Rubra, he lurked in a certain petty tavern and then, hiding himself, went on drinking till evening; thence swiftly carried in a gig to the city, he arrived home with his head muffled. Door-keeper: "Who are you?" "A courier from Marcus." He is immediately conducted to her[1] on whose account he had come, and he handed her a letter. While she was reading it with tears—for it was written in amatory style—but the gist of the letter was that he would have nothing to do with that mime for the future; he had discarded all love in that quarter, and had transferred it to her—when the woman was weeping copiously, the soft-hearted fellow could not bear it, he unveiled his head, and fell on her neck. Oh, what an abandoned fellow! For what else can I call him? I can say nothing more fitting. Was it then in order that the woman might enjoy the surprise of seeing a catamite like you, when you had shown yourself unexpectedly, that you upset the city with terror by night, and Italy with apprehension for many days? And within doors, indeed, an amour provided you with an excuse; outside you had an even viler motive—to prevent Lucius Plancus selling up your sureties. But when you had been brought before a public meeting by a tribune of the people, and had replied that you had come on your

[1] Fulvia.

causa venisse, populum etiam dicacem in te reddidisti. Sed nimis multa de nugis; ad maiora veniamus.

XXXII. C. Caesari ex Hispania redeunti ob viam longissime processisti. Celeriter isti, redisti, ut cognosceret te si minus fortem, at tamen strenuum. Factus es ei rursus nescio quo modo familiaris. Habebat hoc omnino Caesar: quem plane perditum aere alieno egentemque, si eundem nequam hominem audacemque cognorat, hunc in familiaritatem
79 libentissime recipiebat. His igitur rebus praeclare commendatus iussus es renuntiari consul, et quidem cum ipso. Nihil queror de Dolabella, qui tum est inpulsus, inductus, elusus. Qua in re quanta fuerit uterque vestrum perfidia in Dolabellam, quis ignorat? ille induxit, ut peteret, promissum et receptum intervertit ad seque transtulit; tu eius perfidiae voluntatem tuam adscripsisti. Veniunt Kalendae Ianuariae; cogimur in senatum; invectus est copiosius multo in istum et paratius Dolabella
80 quam nunc ego. Hic autem iratus quae dixit, di boni! Primum cum Caesar ostendisset se, priusquam proficisceretur, Dolabellam consulem esse iussurum (quem negant regem, qui et faceret semper eius modi aliquid et diceret)—sed cum Caesar ita dixisset, tum hic bonus augur eo se sacerdotio praeditum esse dixit, ut comitia auspiciis vel inpedire

[1] Antonius.

own private affairs, you made the very populace witty at your expense. But we speak too much of trifles: let us come to more weighty topics.

XXXII. When Caesar was returning from Spain you went a long distance to meet him. You made haste to go, haste to return, so that he might recognise that, if you were weak in courage, you were at least strong in energy. You were somehow made again his familiar friend. This was entirely Caesar's way: when a man was utterly ruined by debt and in want, if he recognised in that man an audacious rascal, he most willingly admitted him into his familiarity. You then being eminently recommended by these qualifications, he orders that you should be returned as consul, and that together with himself. I make no complaint on Dolabella's account, who had been then urged to stand, brought forward, and fobbed off. In this matter who does not know how great was the treachery of both of you towards Dolabella? Caesar brought him forward as a candidate, Caesar intercepted and transferred to himself what he had promised and guaranteed: you made yourself the willing instrument of his perfidy. The Kalends of January arrive; we are forced into the Senate; Dolabella inveighed against that fellow much more fully and elaborately than I do now. Good heavens! what a speech this man[1] made in his anger! First of all, although Caesar had made it clear that, before he set out, he would order Dolabella's election as consul – and they say that the man who was always both doing and saying something of that kind was not a king!—well, when Caesar had said this, then this excellent augur asserted that he was invested with a priesthood of such a character that he could

vel vitiare posset, idque se facturum esse adseveravit.
81 In quo primum incredibilem stupiditatem hominis
cognoscite. Quid enim? istud, quod te sacerdotii
iure facere posse dixisti, si augur non esses et consul
esses, minus facere potuisses? Vide, ne etiam
facilius. Nos enim nuntiationem solum habemus,
consules et reliqui magistratus etiam spectionem.
Esto, hoc imperite; nec enim est ab homine
numquam sobrio postulanda prudentia; sed videte
inpudentiam. Multis ante mensibus in senatu dixit
se Dolabellae comitia aut prohibiturum auspiciis aut
id facturum esse, quod fecit. Quisquamne divinare
potest, quid vitii in auspiciis futurum sit, nisi qui de
caelo servare constituit? quod neque licet comitiis
per leges, et, si qui servavit, non comitiis habitis,
sed priusquam habeantur, debet nuntiare. Verum
inplicata inscientia inpudentia est; nec scit, quod
82 augurem, nec facit, quod pudentem decet. Itaque
ex illo die recordamini eius usque ad Idus Martias
consulatum. Quis umquam adparitor tam humilis,
tam abiectus? Nihil ipse poterat, omnia rogabat,
caput in aversam lecticam inserens beneficia, quae
venderet, a collega petebat.

XXXIII. Ecce Dolabellae comitiorum dies. Sortitio praerogativae; quiescit. Renuntiatur; tacet.

[1] An augur, as such, had no right of taking the auspices unless he was called in by a magistrate, to whom he made a report (*nuntiatio*, or, if unfavourable, *obnuntiatio*). A magistrate had the right of observing the heavens (*spectio*), and also—at any rate if he were a superior magistrate, such as a consul—the right of *obnuntiatio* to another magistrate presiding. The *obnuntiatio* was abolished by the Lex Clodia of 58 B.C., but the law was frequently disregarded and is here ignored by C., who, however, afterwards recognises it (*neque licet per leges*).

by the auspices either hinder or nullify the election, and he assured us he would do so. Here, first of all, mark the incredible stupidity of the man. For look you! This act, which you asserted you were able to do by right of your priesthood, would you have been less able to do if you were not an augur but consul? Surely, even more easily. For we augurs have only the right of report, the consuls and the rest of the magistrates the right also of observing the heavens.[1] Well, let it be: this was his inexperience; for we can't require knowledge from a man never sober. But mark his impudence! Many months before he said in the Senate he would by the auspices either forbid Dolabella's election, or would do what in fact he did. Can anyone divine what flaw there will be in the auspices except the man that has determined to observe the heavens? But it is illegal to do this during an election; and he who has observed ought to make his report, not when the election has been made, but before it is begun. But his ignorance and his impudence are mixed up, and he does not know what an augur should know, or act as a modest man should. And so recall his consulship from that day up to the Ides of March. What lackey was ever so humble, so abject? He could do nothing himself: everything was a request; putting his head into the back of the litter he used to solicit his colleague[2] for favours which he could market.

XXXIII. Now comes the day of Dolabella's election. The right of the first vote is determined by lot: he remains quiet. The result is announced: he is

[2] Caesar.

Prima classis vocatur, renuntiatur; deinde, ita ut adsolet, suffragia; tum secunda classis vocatur; quae omnia sunt citius facta, quam dixi. Confecto negotio bonus augur (C. Laelium diceres) "ALIO DIE"
83 inquit. O inpudentiam singularem! Quid videras, quid senseras, quid audieras? Neque enim te de caelo servasse dixisti nec hodie dicis. Id igitur obvenit vitium, quod tu iam Kalendis Ianuariis futurum esse provideras et tanto ante praedixeras. Ergo hercule magna, ut spero, tua potius quam rei publicae calamitate ementitus es auspicia, obstrinxisti religione populum Romanum, augur auguri, consul consuli obnuntiasti. Nolo plura, ne acta Dolabellae videar convellere, quae necesse est aliquando ad
84 nostrum collegium deferantur. Sed adrogantiam hominis insolentiamque cognoscite. Quamdiu tu voles, vitiosus consul Dolabella; rursus, cum voles, salvis auspiciis creatus. Si nihil est, cum augur iis verbis nuntiat, quibus tu nuntiasti, confitere te, cum "ALIO DIE" dixeris, sobrium non fuisse; sin est aliqua vis in istis verbis, ea quae sit, augur a collega requiro.

Sed ne forte ex multis rebus gestis M. Antoni rem unam pulcherrimam transiliat oratio, ad Lupercalia veniamus.

XXXIV. Non dissimulat, patres conscripti; adparet esse commotum; sudat, pallet. Quidlibet, modo ne

[1] Called Sapiens, or the Wise. He was the friend of the younger Scipio, and is an interlocutor in C.'s *De Amicitia* and *De Senectute*.

[2] The regular formula for "The omens are unfavourable."

[3] *i.e.* of augurs.

[4] *i.e.* if they don't mean what they say, viz. that D.'s election was void. But now you acknowledge his consulship.

dumb. The first class is called: its vote announced; then, as usual, the votes of the knights; then the second class is called; all this is done quicker than my description. When the business is finished the good augur—you would call him Caius Laelius[1]—says "On another day."[2] What consummate impudence! What had you seen? what had you perceived? what had you heard? For you did not assert that you had observed the heavens, nor do you say so to-day. So the flaw interposed which on the Kalends of January you had already foreseen, and so long before predicted. So, by Hercules, you falsified the auspices—as I hope, with great disaster to yourself, not to the State; you bound the Roman people by a religious liability; as augur you reported ill omens to an augur, as consul to a consul. I do not wish to say more, or I shall appear to nullify Dolabella's acts which must some time or other be referred to our college.[3] But mark the arrogance and insolence of the man! So long as you choose, Dolabella is a consul with defective election; again, when you choose, one appointed without violation of the auspices. If there be nothing in the terms of an augur's report which you employed, confess that when you said "On another day" you were not sober; but if there be some force in those words, I, as an augur of his colleague, ask you what they mean.[4]

But that amongst the many exploits of Marcus Antonius my speech may not accidentally pass over one act of his, the very fairest of all, let us come to the Lupercalia.

XXXIV. He does not disguise his feelings, Conscript Fathers; it is clear he is moved, he sweats, he grows pale. Let him do what he pleases, except

nauseet, faciat, quod in porticu Minucia fecit. Quae potest esse turpitudinis tantae defensio? Cupio audire, ut videam, ubi rhetoris sit tanta merces id est ubi campus Leontinus appareat.

85 Sedebat in rostris conlega tuus amictus toga purpurea in sella aurea coronatus. Escendis, accedis ad sellam, (ita eras Lupercus, ut te consulem esse meminisse deberes) diadema ostendis. Gemitus toto foro. Unde diadema? Non enim abiectum sustuleras, sed adtuleras domo meditatum et cogitatum scelus. Tu diadema inponebas cum plangore populi, ille cum plausu reiciebat. Tu ergo unus, scelerate, inventus es, qui cum auctor regni esses eumque, quem collegam habebas, dominum habere velles, idem temptares, quid populus
86 Romanus ferre et pati posset. At etiam misericordiam captabas; supplex te ad pedes abiciebas. Quid petens? ut servires? Tibi uni peteres, qui ita a puero vixeras, ut omnia paterere, ut facile servires; a nobis populoque Romano mandatum id certe non habebas. O praeclaram illam eloquentiam tuam, cum es nudus contionatus! Quid hoc turpius, quid foedius quid suppliciis omnibus dignius? Num exspectas, dum te stimulis fodiamus? Haec te, si ullam partem habes sensus, lacerat, haec cruentat oratio. Vereor, ne imminuam summorum virorum

[1] cf. ch. 25 *ante*. [2] cf. ch. 27 *ante*.
[3] Caesar.
[4] An allusion to his relations with Curio: cf. ch. 18.

being sick, as he was in the Portico of Minucius.[1] What defence can there be for such disgraceful conduct? I long to hear, by way of understanding where his rhetorician's big fee is represented, that is to say, where the Leontine land[2] shows a return.

Your colleague[3] was seated on the rostra, clad in a purple gown, on a golden chair, with a wreath. You mount up, you approach the chair—if you were Lupercus, yet you should have remembered you were consul too—you display a diadem. There is a groan all over the forum. Whence came the diadem? For you had not picked up something cast away, but had brought it from your house, a crime rehearsed and fully planned. You persisted in putting it on his head amid the lamentations of the people; he amid their applause persisted in rejecting it. You then, traitor, were discovered to be the one man who, while establishing a tyranny and willing to have your colleague as your master, were at the same time making trial of what the Roman people could bear and endure. Nay, you even courted compassion; you threw yourself as a suppliant at his feet. Asking for what? Slavery? You should have asked for it for yourself alone, whose life from a boy showed you would submit[4] to anything, would lightly be a slave; from us and from the Roman people at least you had not that as a mandate. Oh, how splendid was that eloquence of yours when you harangued naked! What is more disgraceful, more foul than this, what more meriting any punishment? Are you waiting for us to spit you with an ox-goad? These words of mine, if you have any particle of feeling, these tear you, cut you to the heart. I fear I may be

gloriam; dicam tamen dolore commotus: Quid indignius quam vivere eum, qui inposuerit diadema, cum omnes fateantur iure interfectum esse, qui
87 abiecerit? At etiam adscribi iussit in fastis ad Lupercalia C. Caesari dictatori perpetuo M. Antonium consulem populi iussu regnum detulisse; Caesarem uti noluisse. Iam iam minime miror te otium perturbare, non modo urbem odisse, sed etiam lucem cum perditissimis latronibus non solum de die, sed etiam in diem vivere.[1] Ubi enim tu in pace consistes? qui locus tibi in legibus et in iudiciis esse potest, quae tu, quantum in te fuit, dominatu regio sustulisti? Ideone L. Tarquinius exactus, Sp. Cassius, Sp. Maelius, M. Manlius necati, ut multis post saeculis a M. Antonio, quod fas non est, rex Romae constitueretur?

88 XXXV. Sed ad auspicia redeamus, de quibus Idibus Martiis fuit in senatu Caesar acturus. Quaero: Tum tu quid egisses? Audiebam equidem te paratum venisse, quod me de ementitis auspiciis, quibus tamen parere necesse erat, putares esse dicturum. Sustulit illum diem fortuna rei publicae; num etiam tuum de auspiciis iudicium interitus Caesaris sustulit? Sed incidi in id tempus, quod iis rebus, in quas ingressa erat oratio, praevertendum

[1] *Bibere* (Müller).

[1] Brutus and Cassius, and the other conspirators.
[2] *i.e.*, would A. have opposed Caesar, or would he have declared Dolabella duly elected?
[3] *i.e.*, until they had been declared invalid.
[4] The death of Caesar prevented discussion.

lessening the glory of illustrious men;[1] yet I will speak, moved as I am by indignation. What is more shameful than that he should be living who set on the diadem, while all men confess that he was rightly slain who flung it away? But he even ordered this entry under the Lupercalia in the public records: "To Caius Caesar, perpetual dictator, Marcus Antonius the consul, by command of the people, offered the kingship: Caesar was unwilling." By now I cease wholly to wonder that peace discomposes you; that you hate, not only the city, but even the light; that you live with the most abandoned brigands, not only on what the day brings, but also only for the day. For where in peace will you plant your foot? What place can there be for you, while the laws and the courts survive which, so far as you could, you overthrew by the tyranny of a king? Was it for this Lucius Tarquinius was banished, Spurius Cassius, Spurius Maelius, Marcus Manlius were put to death, that, many generations after, by an act of desecration, there should be set up by Marcus Antonius a king at Rome?

XXXV. But let us return to the auspices, the subject with which Caesar intended to deal in the Senate on the Ides of March. I ask, what would you then have done?[2] I heard indeed you had come primed, because you thought I intended to speak on the falsification of the auspices, which nevertheless[3] we had to obey. That day the fortune of the Roman people made abortive.[4] Did the death of Caesar also make abortive your opinion of the auspices? But I have lit upon a time which I must allude to before I touch upon those matters I

est. Quae tua fuga, quae formido praeclaro illo die, quae propter conscientiam scelerum desperatio vitae, cum ex illa fuga beneficio eorum, qui te, si sanus esses, salvum esse voluerunt, clam te domum
89 recepisti! O mea frustra semper verissima auguria rerum futurarum! Dicebam illis in Capitolio liberatoribus nostris, cum me ad te ire vellent, ut ad defendendam rem publicam te adhortarer, quoad metueres, omnia te promissurum; simul ac timere desisses, similem te futurum tui. Itaque, cum ceteri consulares irent, redirent in sententia mansi; neque te illo die neque postero vidi, neque ullam societatem optimis civibus cum inportunissimo hoste foedere ullo confirmari posse credidi. Post diem tertium veni in aedem Telluris, et quidem invitus, cum
90 omnes aditus armati obsiderent. Qui tibi dies ille, Antoni, fuit? Quamquam mihi inimicus subito extitisti, tamen me tui miseret, quod tibi invideris.

XXXVI. Qui tu vir, di immortales, et quantus fuisses, si illius diei mentem servare potuisses! Pacem haberemus, quae erat facta per obsidem puerum nobilem, M. Bambalionis nepotem. Quamquam bonum te timor faciebat, non diuturnus magister officii, improbum fecit ea, quae, dum timor abest, a te non discedit, audacia. Etsi tum, cum optimum te putabant me quidem dissentiente, funeri tyranni, si illud funus fuit, sceleratissime

[1] On March 15.

[2] By abandoning the patriotic rôle he had at first adopted: cf. *Phil.* i. 1.

[3] A.'s son by Fulvia. He and Lepidus sent their sons to the conspirators in the Capitol as pledges for their security: cf. Intr. to *Phil.* i., p. 8. Bambalio is described in *Phil.* iii. 6 as "*homo nullo numero.*"

had begun to discuss. What a flight was yours! what a panic on that notable day! what despair of life through consciousness of guilt when, after that flight, thanks to those that wished your safety if you were sane, you secretly found refuge in your home! Oh, how to no purpose have my auguries of the future been ever unerring! I told those, our liberators, in the Capitol,[1] when they wished me to approach you and exhort you to defend the State, that, so long as you were afraid, you would promise anything, but that, as soon as you ceased to fear, you would be like yourself. So, when the other consulars were going to and fro, I abided by my opinion; nor did I see you on that day, or on the next, nor did I believe that any alliance could be established by any treaty between the best citizens and their most savage enemy. Two days after I came into the Temple of Tellus, unwillingly indeed, seeing that armed men beset all the approaches. What a day was that for you, Antonius! Though you have suddenly stood forward as my enemy, yet I pity you for having been grudging to your own fame.[2]

XXXVI. Heavens! what a man and how great you would have been had you been able to keep your resolution of that day! We should be enjoying the peace that was made through the hostage, a boy of good birth, the grandson of Marcus Bambalio.[3] However it was fear—no steadfast teacher of duty—that made you good: what made you unprincipled was that which, in the absence of fear, never departs from you, audacity. And even then, when men, contrary to my belief, thought you most loyal, you most criminally presided at the tyrant's

91 praefuisti. Tua illa pulchra laudatio, tua miseratio, tua cohortatio; tu, tu, inquam, illas faces incendisti, et eas, quibus semustulatus ille est, et eas, quibus incensa L. Bellieni domus deflagravit; tu illos impetus perditorum hominum et ex maxima parte servorum, quos nos vi manuque reppulimus, in nostras domos inmisisti. Idem tamen quasi fuligine abstersa reliquis diebus in Capitolio praeclara senatus consulta fecisti, ne qua post Idus Martias immunitatis tabula neve cuius beneficii figeretur. Meministi ipse, de exulibus, scis, de immunitate quid dixeris. Optimum vero, quod dictaturae nomen in perpetuum de re publica sustulisti; quo quidem facto tantum te cepisse odium regni videbatur, ut eius omne nomen[1] propter proximum dictatoris
92 metum tolleres. Constituta res publica videbatur aliis, mihi vero nullo modo, qui omnia te gubernante naufragia metuebam. Num igitur me fefellit, aut num diutius sui potuit dissimilis esse? Inspectantibus vobis toto Capitolio tabulae figebantur, neque solum singulis venibant immunitates, sed etiam populis universis; civitas non iam singillatim, sed provinciis totis dabatur. Itaque, si haec manent, quae stante re publica manere non possunt, provincias universas, patres conscripti, perdidistis, neque vectigalia solum, sed etiam imperium populi Romani huius domesticis nundinis deminutum est.

93 XXXVII. Ubi est septiens miliens, quod est in

[1] *Omne nomen* (Muretus, followed by Halm); *omen nomen* (Vat. MS.).

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[1] An unworthy sneer, and untrue. C. himself says (*Epp. ad Att.* XIV. x. 1) that Caesar was "*in foro combustus.*"

[2] The soot of Caesar's cremation, with the second sense of ill deeds.

funeral, if a funeral it was. Yours was that beautiful panegyric, yours the commiseration, yours the exhortation; you, you, I say, kindled those torches, those alike by which he was half cremated,[1] and those by which the house of Lucius Bellienus was set on fire and burnt down; you it was who directed against our homes those assaults of abandoned men, for the most part slaves, which we repelled by force of arms. None the less it was you too who, as if you had wiped off the soot,[2] on the following days in the Capitol carried noble decrees that, after the Ides of March, no placard of exemption from taxation or of any privilege should be posted up. You yourself remember about the exiles, you know what you said of the exemptions. And, best thing of all, you abolished out of the State for ever the title of dictator, and by this action indeed it seemed you had conceived such a hatred of kingship that, on account of our recent fear of a dictator, you were abolishing its very name. The State seemed to others established, but by no means so to me, who feared shipwreck while you were at the wheel. Did his character escape me? or could he any longer be unlike himself? In your very faces, all over the Capitol, placards were being posted up, and exemptions were being sold, not to individuals only, but to whole States; the citizenship was no longer being given to individuals, but to whole provinces. Accordingly, if these things remain—and while the State stands they cannot—you, Conscript Fathers, have lost whole provinces; and not revenues only, but the very empire of the Roman people has been diminished by this man's domestic market.

XXXVII. Where are the seven hundred millions

tabulis, quae sunt ad Opis? funestae illius quidem pecuniae, sed tamen quae nos, si iis, quorum erat, non redderetur, a tributis posset vindicare. Tu autem quadringentiens sestertium, quod Idibus Martiis debuisti, quonam modo ante Kalendas Apriles debere desisti? Sunt ea quidem innumerabilia, quae a tuis emebantur non insciente te, sed unum egregium de rege Deiotaro populi Romani amicissimo decretum in Capitolio fixum; quo proposito nemo erat
94 qui in ipso dolore risum posset continere. Quis enim cuiquam inimicior quam Deiotaro Caesar? aeque atque huic ordini, ut equestri, ut Massiliensibus, ut omnibus, quibus rem publicam populi Romani caram esse sentiebat. Igitur, a quo vivo nec praesens nec absens rex Deiotarus quicquam aequi boni impetravit, apud mortuum factus est gratiosus. Compellarat hospitem praesens, conputarat, pecuniam imperarat, in eius tetrarchia unum ex Graecis comitibus suis collocarat, Armeniam abstulerat a senatu datam. Haec vivus eripuit, reddit mortuus.
95 At quibus verbis? Modo aequum sibi videri, modo non iniquum. Mira verborum complexio! At ille numquam (semper enim absenti adfui Deiotaro) quicquam sibi, quod nos pro illo postularemus, aequum dixit videri. Syngrapha sestertii centiens

[1] As representing the blood and the confiscated property of citizens, particularly of the Pompeians. In *Phil.* i. 7 C. calls the money *cruenta.*

[2] King of Galatia, an adherent of Pompeius. Caesar deprived him of part of his dominions, and was preparing to deprive him of the rest on a false charge brought against him by his grandson of plotting Caesar's death. Cicero defended him before Caesar in the speech *Pro Rege Deiotaro.* A. for a bribe contracted to restore him: see *infra.*

entered in the account-books at the Temple of Ops? moneys, ill-omened,[1] it is true, but which, if not returned to their owners, might yet set us free from property taxes. And you, how did you before the Kalends of April cease to owe the forty million sesterces you owed on the Ides of March? Indeed innumerable are the decrees that were being purchased from your partisans, not without your knowledge; but one remarkable decree concerning King Deiotarus,[2] a great friend of the Roman people, was posted in the Capitol: and, when it was proposed, there was no man, even in the midst of his grief, that could restrain his laughter. For who was ever more hostile to any man than Caesar to Deiotarus? as hostile as he was to this our order, to the equestrian order, to the Massilians, to all to whom he felt the State of the Roman people was dear. Accordingly, while from the living man King Deiotarus, whether present or absent, never won any justice, any kindness, on death he became the object of his favour. Face to face with his host, he had called him to account; had reckoned the sums; had demanded the money; had settled one of his own Greek companions in his tetrarchy; had taken away Armenia, the gift of the Senate. These things he took away in life, he returns them in death. But in what words?[3] At one time "it seems fair," at another "not unfair." A wonderful conjunction of words! But Caesar never acknowledged—I always appeared for Deiotarus in his absence, and know—that any claims we made on his behalf seemed fair. A bond for ten million sesterces was

[3] C. quotes from Caesar's supposed Lex Julia de Deiotaro.

per legatos, viros bonos, sed timidos et imperitos, sine nostra, sine reliquorum hospitum regis sententia facta in gynaecio est, quo in loco plurimae res venierunt et veneunt. Qua ex syngrapha quid sis acturus, meditere censeo. Rex enim ipse sua sponte nullis commentariis Caesaris, simul atque audivit eius interitum, suo Marte res suas reciperavit.
96 Sciebat homo sapiens ius semper hoc fuisse, ut, quae tyranni eripuissent, ea tyrannis interfectis ii, quibus erepta essent, reciperarent. Nemo igitur iure consultus, ne iste quidem, qui tibi uni est iure consultus, per quem haec agis, ex ista syngrapha deberi dicet pro iis rebus, quae erant ante syngrapham reciperatae. Non enim a te emit, sed, priusquam tu suum sibi venderes, ipse possedit. Ille vir fuit; nos quidem contemnendi, qui actorem odimus, acta defendimus.

XXXVIII. Quid ego de commentariis infinitis,
97 quid de innumerabilibus chirographis loquar? quorum etiam institores sunt, qui ea tamquam gladiatorum libellos palam venditent. Itaque tanti acervi nummorum apud istum construuntur, ut iam expendantur, non numerentur pecuniae. At quam caeca avaritia est! Nuper fixa tabula est, qua civitates locupletissimae Cretensium vectigalibus liberantur statuiturque, ne post M. Brutum pro consule sit Creta provincia. Tu mentis es conpos, tu non constringendus? An Caesaris decreto Creta

[1] Fulvia's. C. says (*ad Att.* xiv. 12) that Deiotarus was "*omni regno dignus, sed non per Fulviam.*"
[2] Caesar.

signed through the agency of envoys—good men, but timid and inexperienced, and without my advice or that of the rest of the King's friends: this was in the women's apartment,[1] a place where many things have been and are sold. On this bond I advise you to consider what you are to do. For the King himself, of his own motion, apart from Caesar's note-books, as soon as he heard of his death, recovered his own by his own valour. Being a wise man he knew that it had always been held lawful that what tyrants had seized, those from whom it was seized might recover when the tyrants had been slain. There is no lawyer therefore, not even that one who advises you, his one client, through whom you are now acting, that says there is a debt on that bond for things that had been recovered before the bond was made. For he did not buy of you: he himself took possession before you should sell him his own property. He was a man; we indeed are to be despised, who hate the author,[2] but defend his acts.

XXXVIII. What am I to say of the endless note-books, the innumerable autographs? of which there are even hawkers to sell them openly as if they were gladiatorial programmes. Thus such huge heaps of coin are being piled up in that house of his that moneys are now being weighed out, not counted. But how blind is avarice! Lately an advertisement has been posted, whereby the most wealthy communities of the Cretans are being exempted from tribute, and it is ordained that after the proconsulship of Marcus Brutus Crete should be no longer a province. Are you in possession of your wits? Should you not be put under restraint? Could Crete by decree of Caesar be exempted after

post M. Bruti decessum potuit liberari, cum Creta nihil ad Brutum Caesare vivo pertineret? At huius venditione decreti, ne nihil actum putetis, provinciam Cretam perdidistis. Omnino nemo ullius rei
98 fuit emptor, cui defuerit hic venditor. Et de exulibus legem, quam fixisti, Caesar tulit? Nullius insector calamitatem; tantum queror, primum eorum reditus inquinatos,[1] quorum causam Caesar dissimilem iudicarit; deinde nescio cur non reliquis idem tribuas; neque enim plus quam tres aut quattuor reliqui sunt. Qui simili in calamitate sunt, cur tua misericordia non simili fruuntur, cur eos habes in loco patrui? de quo ferre, cum de reliquis ferres, noluisti; quem etiam ad censuram petendam impulisti eamque petitionem comparasti, quae et
99 risus hominum et querellas moveret. Cur autem ea comitia non habuisti? an quia tribunus pl. sinistrum fulmen nuntiabat? Cum tua quid interest, nulla auspicia sunt, cum tuorum, tum fis religiosus. Quid? eundem in septemviratu nonne destituisti? intervenit enim, cui metuisti, credo, ne salvo capite negare non posses. Omnibus eum contumeliis onerasti, quem patris loco, si ulla in te pietas esset, colere debebas. Filiam eius sororem tuam eiecisti

[1] Some editions read *exaequatos* (equalised).

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[1] Caesar had nominated B. to Macedonia. The regulation as to Crete could thus not be a genuine "act" of Caesar's.

[2] An impossible conclusion. The loss of tribute was not the loss of a province. "You" is the Senate.

[3] As not being reprobates: cf. ch. 23.

[4] Because the uncle had been convicted of extortion, and expelled by the censor from the Senate.

the departure of Marcus Brutus when Crete had nothing to do with Brutus when Caesar was alive?[1] But by the sale of this decree—lest you should think nothing has been done—you have lost the province of Crete.[2] In fact there never was a buyer of anything but this man was the seller. And as to the law concerning the exiles which you advertised—did Caesar propose that? I rail at no man's misfortunes: this much I complain of; first that a blot has been cast on the return of those whose case Caesar judged to be distinguishable;[3] next I fail to see why you do not grant the same favour to the rest: for not more than three or four remain. Why do those in the same misfortune not also enjoy at your hands the same clemency? Why do you rank them with your uncle on whose behalf you would not make a proposal when you did so for the rest, and whom you even urged to stand for the censorship, and organised a canvass that moved men's laughter and indignation.[4] But why did you not hold that election? or was it because a tribune of the people reported thunder on the left? When any interest of yours is concerned, auspices are nothing; when that of your friends is, then you become scrupulous. Again, in the case of the septemvirs[5] also, did you not leave him in the lurch? for some one intervened whom, I suppose, you feared to deny at the peril of your life. You loaded with every insult the man whom, if you had any affection in you, you ought to have honoured as a father. His daughter,[6] your cousin, you turned out

[5] As to this see *Phil.* vi. 5, xi. 6.

[6] Antonia, his second wife.

alia condicione quaesita et ante perspecta. Non est satis; probri insimulasti pudicissimam feminam. Quid est, quod addi possit? Contentus eo non fuisti. Frequentissimo senatu Kalendis Ianuariis sedente patruo hanc tibi esse cum Dolabella causam odii ausus es, quod ab eo sorori et uxori tuae stuprum oblatum esse comperisses. Quis interpretari potest, impudentiorne, qui in senatu, an inprobior, qui in Dolabellam, an inpurior, qui patruo audiente, an crudelior, qui in illam miseram tam spurce, tam impie dixeris?

100 XXXIX. Sed ad chirographa redeamus. Quae tua fuit cognitio? Acta enim Caesaris pacis causa confirmata sunt a senatu; quae quidem Caesar egisset, non ea, quae egisse Caesarem dixisset Antonius. Unde ista erumpunt, quo auctore proferuntur? Si sunt falsa, cur probantur? si vera, cur veneunt? At sic placuerat, ut Kalendis Iuniis de Caesaris actis cum consilio cognosceretis. Quod fuit consilium, quem umquam convocasti, quas Kalendas Iunias expectasti? an eas, ad quas te peragratis veteranorum coloniis stipatum armis rettulisti?

O praeclaram illam percursationem tuam mense Aprili atque Maio, tum cum etiam Capuam coloniam

[1] Fulvia. [2] "You" is here Antonius.

of doors when you had first sought and provided for another match.[1] That is not enough; you accused of misconduct a woman of the greatest purity. What can be said more? You were not content with that. At a crowded sitting of the Senate on the Kalends of January, in the presence of your uncle, you dared to allege this as your reason for hating Dolabella – your discovery of his attempted adultery with your cousin and wife. Who can determine whether you were the more impudent to make this charge in the Senate, or more desperate to make it against Dolabella, or more indecent to make it in your uncle's hearing, or more cruel to make it in such foul and unnatural fashion against that unhappy woman?

XXXIX. But let us return to the autographs. What was your enquiry? For the acts of Caesar were, for the sake of peace, confirmed by the Senate; that is to say, Caesar's own "acts," not such as Antonius had said were Caesar's. From what source do those acts burst forth? on whose authority are they produced? If false, why are they held valid? if true, why sold? But the resolution was in these terms, that after the Kalends of June you Senators should enquire into Caesar's "acts" with the help of a commission. What commission was there? whom did you[2] ever summon? what Kalends of June did you wait for? or was it those Kalends on which, when you had made a progress through the colonies of veterans, you brought yourself back, surrounded by armed men?

What a splendid excursion was that of yours in the months of April and May, that is, at the time when you even attempted to found a colony at

deducere conatus es! Quem ad modum illinc
101 abieris vel potius paene non abieris, scimus. Cui tu urbi minitaris. Utinam conere, ut aliquando illud "paene" tollatur! At quam nobilis est tua illa peregrinatio! Quid prandiorum adparatus, quid furiosam vinulentiam tuam proferam? Tua ista detrimenta sunt, illa nostra. Agrum Campanum, qui cum de vectigalibus eximebatur, ut militibus daretur, tamen infligi magnum rei publicae vulnus putabamus, hunc tu compransoribus tuis et conlusoribus dividebas. Mimos dico et mimas, patres conscripti, in agro Campano collocatos. Quid iam querar de agro Leontino? quoniam quidem hae quondam arationes Campana et Leontina in populi Romani patrimonio grandiferae et fructuosae ferebantur. Medico tria milia iugerum; quid si[1] te sanasset? rhetori duo; quid, si[1] te disertum facere potuisset? Sed ad iter Italiamque redeamus.

102 XL. Deduxisti coloniam Casilinum, quo Caesar ante deduxerat. Consuluisti me per litteras de Capua tu quidem, sed idem de Casilino respondissem, possesne, ubi colonia esset, eo coloniam novam iure deducere. Negavi in eam coloniam, quae esset auspicato deducta, dum esset incolumis, coloniam novam iure deduci; colonos novos adscribi posse rescripsi. Tu autem insolentia elatus omni auspici-

[1] So the Vat. MS. The other MSS. read *quasi*.

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[1] A. was roughly handled by the Capuans: cf. *Phil.* xii. 7.
[2] A space marked out *sub auspiciis* was a *templum* or holy place: Nieb. *Hist. Rom.* 2. 625.

Capua! How you departed thence, or rather almost failed to depart,[1] we know. That city you threaten. I hope you will make an attempt on it so that that word "almost" may at last be eliminated! But what a noble progress of yours followed! Why should I reveal the sumptuousness of those lunches, the madness of your wine-bibbing? Those are your losses: these are ours. The Campanian land, whose exemption from tribute in order that it should be given to the soldiers we yet thought was inflicting a great wound on the State, you were for dividing among your boon-companions and fellow-gamblers. Male and female mimes, I say, Conscript Fathers, were planted on the Campanian land. After that why should I complain of the Leontine land? as I well might, since these arable farms in Campanian and Leontine land used to be deemed vastly productive and fruitful as part of the patrimony of the Roman people. To your doctor three thousand acres: what would he have got if he had made you sane? To your rhetorician, two: what if he had been able to make you eloquent? But let us return to your journey and to Italy.

XL. You founded a colony at Casilinum where Caesar had founded one before. You consulted me by letter—about Capua, it is true, but I should have made the same reply about Casilinum—could you legally found a new colony where there was one already? I said that where a colony had been founded under the auspices, while the latter existed a new colony could not legally be founded;[2] but that new colonists could be added I admitted in my reply. But you, insolently elated, and unsettling all the law of the auspices, founded a colony at

orum iure turbato Casilinum coloniam deduxisti, quo erat paucis annis ante deducta, ut vexillum tolleres, ut aratrum circumduceres; cuius quidem vomere portam Capuae paene perstrinxisti, ut florentis
103 coloniae territorium minueretur. Ab hac perturbatione religionum advolas in M. Varronis, sanctissimi atque integerrimi viri, fundum Casinatem. Quo iure, quo ore? "Eodem," inquies, "quo in heredum L. Rubri, quo in heredum L. Turseli praedia, quo in reliquas innumerabiles possessiones." Et si ab hasta, valeat hasta, valeant tabulae, modo Caesaris, non tuae quibus debuisti, non quibus tu te liberavisti. Varronis quidem Casinatem fundum quis venisse dicit, quis hastam istius venditionis vidit, quis vocem praeconis audivit? Misisse te dicis Alexandriam, qui emeret a Caesare; ipsum enim expectare
104 magnum fuit. Quis vero audivit umquam (nullius autem salus curae pluribus fuit) de fortunis Varronis rem ullam esse detractam? Quid? si etiam scripsit ad te Caesar, ut redderes, quid satis potest dici de tanta impudentia? Remove gladios parumper illos, quos videmus; iam intelleges aliam causam esse hastae Caesaris, aliam confidentiae et temeritatis tuae; non enim te dominus modo illis sedibus, sed quivis amicus, vicinus, hospes procurator arcebit.

XLI. At quam multos dies in ea villa turpissime es perbacchatus! Ab hora tertia bibebatur, ludebatur, vomebatur. O tecta ipsa misera "quam

[1] Colonists proceeded to the site of the new colony in military array (*sub vexillo*), and the boundaries of the new city were marked out by the plough.

[2] *Tabulae* is used in two senses, "auction catalogues," and so "auction," and "accounts" (of the money in the Temple of Ops).

Casilinum, where a few years before one had been founded, so that you even raised your standard, and marked boundaries by the plough;[1] yes, and by that ploughshare you almost grazed the gate of Capua, so that the territory of a flourishing colony was diminished. From this unsettlement of religious rules you swoop down on to the farm at Casinum of Marcus Varro, a most pious and honest man. By what right? with what face? The same, you will say, with which you invaded the farms of the heirs of Lucius Rubrius, of Lucius Tursellius, innumerable other possessions. And if you bought at auction, let the auction stand, let the accounts stand, provided they are Caesar's, not yours; those by which you were a debtor, not those whereby you freed yourself from debt.[2] As to Varro's farm at Casinum, who asserts it was sold? who saw the spear that marked that sale? who heard the voice of the auctioneer? You say you sent an agent to Alexandria to buy it from Caesar; for it was too much to wait for the man himself! But who ever heard—for no man's safety was of more general concern—that any thing had been filched from Varro's property? Again: if Caesar even wrote to you to restore it, what adequate description could be given of such impudence? Remove for a while those swordsmen we see: you will soon understand that Caesar's auction is one thing, your assurance and rashness another: for not the owner himself only, but any friend of his, neighbour, guest, steward, will drive you from that dwelling.

XLI. But how many days did you most disgracefully carouse in that villa! From the third hour[3] there was drinking, gaming, vomiting. O unhappy

[3] The usual hour for the *cena* was the ninth.

dispari domino" (quamquam quo modo iste dominus?) —sed tamen quam ab dispari tenebantur! Studiorum enim suorum M. Varro voluit illud, non libi-
105 dinum deversorium. Quae in illa villa antea dicebantur, quae cogitabantur, quae litteris mandabantur! Iura populi Romani, monimenta maiorum, omnis sapientiae ratio omnisque doctrinae. At vero te inquilino (non enim domino) personabant omnia vocibus ebriorum, natabant pavimenta vino, madēbant parietes, ingenui pueri cum meritoriis, scorta inter matres familias versabantur. Casino salutatum veniebant, Aquino, Interamna; admissus est nemo Iure id quidem; in homine enim turpissimo obsolefiebant dignitatis insignia.

106 Cum inde Romam proficiscens ad Aquinum accederet, ob viam ei processit, ut est frequens municipium, magna sane multitudo. At iste operta lectica latus per oppidum est ut mortuus. Stulte Aquinates; sed tamen in via habitabant. Quid Anagnini? Qui cum essent devii, descenderunt, ut istum, tamquam si esset, consulem salutarent. Incredibile dictu † sed tum nimis inter omnes[1] constabat neminem esse resalutatum, praesertim cum duos secum Anagninos haberet, Mustelam et Laconem, quorum alter gladiorum est princeps, alter poculorum. Quid ego illas istius minas contume-
107 liasque commemorem, quibus invectus est in Sidicinos

[1] *Dictum sed cum uinus* (Vat.); *dictu est sed sum vicinus* (Madvig and Halm); *dictu est tamen vicinos inter omnes* (Orelli). The text is Halm's following two MSS.

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[1] A quotation from an unknown poet. C. also quotes it in *De Off.* 1.139.

dwelling, "with what an ill-matched owner"![1] And yet how was that fellow an owner? at any rate with what an ill-matched tenant! For Varro wished that house to be a retreat for his own studies, not for lust. What discussions formerly took place in that villa, what meditations! what thoughts were committed to writing! The laws of the Roman people, the memorials of antiquity, every system of philosophy and of learning. But in your tenancy—for no owner were you—the whole place rang with the voices of drunken men; the pavements swam with wine; the walls were wet; boys of free birth were consorting with those let for hire; harlots with mothers of families. Men came from Casinum to pay their respects, from Aquinum, from Interamna; no one was admitted. That indeed was right; for, in the person of so vile a man, the insignia of rank were becoming sullied.

When, setting out for Rome from that place, he was approaching Aquinum, as the borough is a populous one, quite a large crowd came to meet him. But he was carried through the town in a closed litter like a corpse. The people of Aquinum acted foolishly, but they lived on the way. What of the Anagnians? They, although they lived off the road, came down to greet the fellow as consul, as though he were really such. The story is past belief, but at that time was fully accepted, that no man was greeted in return, and that though he had with him two Anagnians, Mustela and Laco, the one the prince of swordsmen, the other of topers. Why should I mention the threats and insults of that fellow with which he inveighed against the Sidicinians, and harassed the men of Puteoli, for having adopted

vexavit Puteolanos, quod C. Cassium et Brutos patronos adoptassent? Magno quidem studio, iudicio, benivolentia, caritate, non ut te et Basilum vi et armis et alios vestri similes, quos clientis nemo habere velit, non modo illorum cliens esse.

XLII. Interea dum tu abes, qui dies ille conlegae tui fuit, cum illud, quod venerari solebas, bustum in foro evertit! Qua re tibi nuntiata, ut constabat inter eos, qui una fuerunt, concidisti. Quid evenerit postea, nescio; metum credo valuisse et arma; conlegam quidem de caelo detraxisti effecistique non tu quidem etiam nunc, ut similis tui, sed certe ut dissimilis esset sui.

108 Qui vero inde reditus Romam, quae perturbatio totius urbis! Memineramus Cinnam nimis potentem, Sullam postea dominantem, modo Caesarem regnantem videramus. Erant fortasse gladii, sed absconditi nec ita multi. Ista vero quae et quanta barbaria est! Agmine quadrato cum gladiis secuntur, scutorum lecticas portari videmus. Atque his quidem iam inveteratis, patres conscripti, consuetudine obduruimus. Kalendis Iuniis cum in senatum, ut erat constitutum, venire vellemus, metu perterriti repente diffugimus. At iste, qui senatu non egeret,
109 neque desideravit quemquam et potius discessu nostro laetatus est statimque illa mirabilia facinora effecit. Qui chirographa Caesaris defendisset lucri sui causa, is leges Caesaris, easque praeclaras, ut rem

[1] Dolabella. [2] Cf. n. to *Phil.* i. 2.

Caius Cassius and the Brutuses as patrons? This they did with great zeal and judgment, in kindness and affection, not by force of arms, the way in which they adopted you and Basilus, and others like you, whom no man would wish to have as clients, much less as patrons.

XLII. In the meantime, during your absence, what a day for your colleague [1] that was when he overthrew in the forum the altar [2] you were wont to revere! When this was reported to you—as was evident to those with you—you collapsed. What happened afterwards I do not know: I suppose fear prevailed and force; your colleague, it is certain, you dragged down from heaven, and made him, not even now indeed like you, but at least unlike himself.

But what a return was there then to Rome! what perturbation of the whole city! We remembered Cinna's excessive power, Sulla's domination afterward; lately we had seen the reign of Caesar. Then possibly there were swords, but they were hidden, and not very many. But what a barbaric display is this of yours! Sword in hand they follow him in battalions; of shields we see litterloads carried. And to all this, so habitual, Conscript Fathers, has it become, custom has rendered us callous. On the Kalends of June, although we wished to attend the Senate, as had been arranged, yet overcome by fear we of a sudden fled in all directions. But he, having no need of a Senate, missed no man's presence: he rather rejoiced at our departure, and at once carried out those astonishing crimes. Though he had defended Caesar's signatures for his own profit, yet he upset Caesar's

publicam concutere posset, evertit. Numerum annorum provinciis prorogavit, idemque cum actorum Caesaris defensor esse deberet, et in publicis et in privatis rebus acta Caesaris rescidit. In publicis nihil est lege gravius, in privatis firmissimum est testamentum. Leges alias sine promulgatione sustulit, alias ut tolleret, promulgavit. Testamentum irritum fecit, quod etiam infimis civibus semper obtentum est. Signa, tabulas, quas populo Caesar una cum hortis legavit, eas hic partim in hortos Pompei deportavit, partim in villam Scipionis.

110 XLIII. Et tu in Caesaris memoria diligens, tu illum amas mortuum? Quem is honorem maiorem consecutus erat, quam ut haberet pulvinar, simulacrum, fastigium, flaminem? Est ergo flamen, ut Iovi, ut Marti, ut Quirino, sic divo Iulio M. Antonius. Quid igitur cessas? cur non inauguraris? Sume diem, vide, qui te inauguret; conlegae sumus; nemo negabit. O detestabilem hominem, sive quod Caesaris[1] sacerdos es sive quod mortui! Quaero deinceps, num, hodiernus dies qui sit, ignores. Nescis heri quartum in Circo diem ludorum Romanorum fuisse? te autem ipsum ad populum tulisse, ut quintus praeterea dies Caesari tribueretur? Cur non sumus praetextati? cur honorem Caesaris tua lege

[1] Some MSS. have *tyranni*, probably a gloss.

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[1] On three market-days, as required by law.

[2] *Pulvinar* = a couch at the *lectisternium* (feast of couches), on which the image of a God was set with sacrificial viands placed before it; *fastigium* = a pediment resembling that of a temple; *flamen* = a special priest: all signs of divine honours paid to Caesar.

laws, even when they were excellent, that he might be able to shake the State. He extended the tenure of provinces; and at the same time, though he was bound to be defender of Caesar's acts, he rescinded Caesar's acts both in public and in private matters. In public matters nothing is more important than a law; in private the most unchangeable thing is a will. Some laws of Caesar's he abolished by laws never advertised[1]; in order to abolish others he advertised new laws. He nullified a will, a thing that has always been held valid even in the case of the lowest citizens. Statues, pictures, which Caesar bequeathed to the people together with his gardens, he carried off, partly to the gardens of Pompeius, partly to the villa of Scipio.

XLIII. And are *you* zealous in respecting Caesar's memory? do *you* love him in death? What greater honour had he obtained than to have a couch, an image, a pediment to his house, a flamen?[2] As Jupiter, as Mars, as Quirinus has a flamen, so the flamen to divine Julius is Marcus Antonius. Why then delay? Why not be inaugurated? Select your day; look out for your inaugurator; we are colleagues; no one will say no. O detestable man, whether as priest of Caesar or of a dead man! I ask you next whether you are ignorant what day this is. Do you not know that yesterday was the fourth day of the Roman Games in the Circus? and also that you yourself proposed to the people a fifth day[3] in addition should be assigned to Caesar? Why are we not in holiday garb? Why do we permit an honour granted to Caesar under your law to be

[3] Which would be Sept. 19, the day on which this speech purported to be delivered.

datum deseri patimur? an supplicationes addendo diem contaminari passus es, pulvinaria contaminari noluisti? Aut undique religionem tolle aut usque
111 quaque conserva. Quaeris, placeatne mihi pulvinar esse, fastigium, flaminem. Mihi vero nihil istorum placet; sed tu, qui acta Caesaris defendis, quid potes dicere, cur alia defendas, alia non cures? nisi forte vis fateri te omnia quaestu tuo, non illius dignitate metiri. Quid ad haec tandem? expecto enim eloquentiam tuam. Disertissimum cognovi avum tuum, at te etiam apertiorem in dicendo. Ille numquam nudus est contionatus, tuum hominis simplicis pectus vidimus. Respondebisne ad haec aut omnino hiscere audebis? Ecquid reperies ex tam longa oratione mea, cui te respondere posse confidas?
112 XLIV. Sed praeterita omittamus: hunc unum diem, unum, inquam, hodiernum diem, hoc punctum temporis, quo loquor, defende, si potes. Cur armatorum corona senatus saeptus est, cur me tui satellites cum gladiis audiunt, cur valvae Concordiae non patent, cur homines omnium gentium maxime barbaros, Ityraeos, cum sagittis deducis in forum? Praesidii sui causa se facere dicit. Non igitur miliens

[1] A. on Sept. 1 proposed that in all public thanksgivings (*supplicationes*) to the Gods a special day should be added for offerings to the deified Caesar (Dio xliii. 44; *Phil.* i. 5, 6). He had thus allowed the impiety of blending honour paid to the Gods with honour paid to a mortal. Yet, although he was Caesar's priest, he shrank from placing his bust on a couch at the *lectisternium*.

disregarded? or is it that, while you allowed the public thanksgiving to be polluted by the addition of a day, you were unwilling the couches should be also?[1] Either abolish altogether religious scruples, or maintain them on all occasions. You ask whether I am pleased there should be a couch, a pediment, a flamen. I indeed am pleased with none of those things; but as for you who defend the acts of Caesar, what excuse can you give for defending some, disregarding others? unless perhaps you wish to confess that you measure all things by your own profit, not by Caesar's honour. What, pray, can you say to this? for I am looking forward to your eloquence. Your grandfather was, I know, a very ready speaker, but I know that you in speaking unbosom yourself more freely.[2] He never made an harangue naked; your breast, simple man, we have seen! Will you reply to this? or dare to open your mouth at all? Will you find in so long a speech of mine something to which you may with confidence reply?

XLIV. But let us disregard what is past and gone; the doings of this one day, this very present day, I repeat, this point of time in which I am speaking—defend them if you can. Why is the Senate hedged in by a cordon of armed men? Why are your henchmen listening to me sword in hand? Why do the doors of Concord not lie open? Why do you bring Ityraeans, of all tribes the most barbarous, down into the forum with their arrows? It is for his own protection he says he does this. Are not then a thousand deaths better than

[2] C. plays on the meaning of "*apertus*," *i.e.* "frank," or "open to view." A. harangued *nudus* at the Lupercalia; cf. *Phil.* iii. 5.

perire est melius quam in sua civitate sine armatorum praesidio non posse vivere? Sed nullum est istud, mihi crede, praesidium! caritate te et benivolentia
113 civium saeptum oportet esse, non armis. Eripiet et extorquebit tibi ista populus Romanus, utinam salvis nobis! sed quoquo modo nobiscum egeris, dum istis consiliis uteris, non potes, mihi crede, esse diuturnus. Etenim ista tua minime avara coniunx, quam ego sine contumelia describo, nimium diu debet populo Romano tertiam pensionem. Habet populus Romanus, ad quos gubernacula rei publicae deferat; qui ubicumque terrarum sunt, ibi omne est rei publicae praesidium vel potius ipsa res publica, quae se adhuc tantum modo ulta est, nondum reciperavit. Habet quidem certe res publica adulescentes nobilissimos paratos defensores; quam volent illi cedant otio consulentes, tamen a re publica revocabuntur. Et nomen pacis dulce est et ipsa res salutaris, sed inter pacem et servitutem plurimum interest. Pax est tranquilla libertas, servitus postremum malorum omnium non modo bello, sed morte
114 etiam repellendum. Quodsi se ipsos illi nostri liberatores e conspectu nostro abstulerunt, at exemplum facti reliquerunt. Illi, quod nemo fecerat, fecerunt. Tarquinium Brutus bello est persecutus, qui tum rex fuit, cum esse Romae licebat; Sp. Cassius, Sp. Maelius, M. Manlius propter suspicionem regni adpetendi sunt necati; hi primum cum gladiis non in regnum adpetentem, sed in regnantem

[1] A sarcastic use of the polite formula customary when a living person is ceremoniously mentioned: cf. *Phil.* ii. 12-30.

[2] The death of a third husband, *i.e.* Antonius.

[3] By Caesar's death.

[4] Brutus and Cassius, etc.

not to be able to live in one's own community without a guard of armed men? But that "protection," believe me, is none; it is by the affection and good will of your fellow-citizens you should be hedged, not by arms. The Roman people will wrest those arms from you, and wrench them out of your grip—may it be while we are still safe!—but in whatever way you deal with us, while you pursue your present policy you cannot, believe me, live long. For that consort of yours—of all wives the least illiberal, whom I portray without irreverence[1]—has been too long a debtor to the Roman people for her third instalment.[2] The Roman people still has men to whom to commit the helm of state: wherever they are, there is the State's every defence, or rather, the State itself, which so far has only avenged itself,[3] and not restored its strength. It has, I say, assuredly young men[4] of the highest birth ready to be its defenders: let them stay apart regardful of their ease as they choose, yet they will be recalled by the State. And the name of peace is sweet, and the thing itself wholesome, but between peace and servitude the difference is great. Peace is tranquil liberty, servitude the last of all evils, one to be repelled, not only by war but even by death. But if those our liberators have withdrawn themselves out of our sight, yet they have left the example of what they did. They did what no man had done. Brutus waged war against Tarquin who was a king when to be a king was lawful at Rome; Spurius Cassius, Spurius Maelius, Marcus Manlius, because of the suspicion that they aimed at kingly power, were put to death; the men of to-day were the first to attack with swords one not aiming

impetum fecerunt. Quod cum ipsum factum per se praeclarum est atque divinum, tum expositum ad imitandum est, praesertim cum illi eam gloriam consecuti sint, quae vix caelo capi posse videatur. Etsi enim satis in ipsa conscientia pulcherrimi facti fructus erat, tamen mortali immortalitatem non arbitror esse contemnendam.

115 XLV. Recordare igitur illum, M. Antoni, diem, quo dictaturam sustulisti; pone ante oculos laetitiam senatus populique Romani, confer cum hac immani nundinatione[1] tua tuorumque; tum intelleges, quantum inter lucrum et laudem intersit. Sed nimirum, ut quidam morbo aliquo et sensus stupore suavitatem cibi non sentiunt, sic libidinosi, avari, facinerosi verae laudis gustatum non habent. Sed si te laus allicere ad recte faciendum non potest, ne metus quidem a foedissimis factis potest avocare? Iudicia non metuis. Si propter innocentiam, laudo, sin propter vim, non intellegis, qui isto modo iudicia non timeat, ei quid
116 timendum sit? Quodsi non metuis viros fortes egregiosque cives, quod a corpore tuo prohibentur armis, tui te, mihi crede, diutius non ferent. Quae est autem vita dies et noctes timere a suis? nisi vero aut maioribus habes beneficiis obligatos, quam ille quosdam habuit ex iis, a quibus est interfectus, aut tu es ulla re cum eo comparandus. Fuit in illo ingenium, ratio, memoria, litterae, cura, cogitatio,

[1] *Cum hac immanum lationе* (Vat.).

at kingly power, but who was a king. That deed is not only in itself illustrious and godlike, but also set before us for our imitation, all the more because they achieved such a glory as seems scarce to be bounded by heaven itself. For although in the very consciousness of a splendid deed there was sufficient reward, yet by a mortal immortality should not, I think, be despised.

XLV. Recall therefore, Marcus Antonius, that day on which you abolished the dictatorship; set before your eyes the joy of the Senate and of the Roman people; compare it with this monstrous marketing conducted by you and your friends: then will you understand how great the difference between gain and glory. But assuredly, even as some, through a kind of disease and numbness of perception, do not perceive the flavour of food, so the lustful, the avaricious, the criminal, have no estimation of genuine glory. But if glory cannot allure you to right doing, cannot even fear call you away from the foulest deeds? The law-courts you do not fear. If because of your innocence, I praise you; but if because of your violence, do you not understand what he must be afraid of who in such fashion is not afraid of the law-courts? Yet if you have no fear of brave men and honest citizens because they are kept from your body by an armed guard, your own followers, believe me, will not endure you any longer. And what a life is it, day and night to dread your own followers? unless indeed you have men bound to you by greater favours than Caesar had in some of those by whom he was slain, or yourself are in any respect to be compared with him. In him there was genius, calculation, memory, letters, industry, thought,

diligentia; res bello gesserat quamvis rei publicae calamitosas, at tamen magnas; multos annos regnare meditatus magno labore, magnis periculis, quod cogitarat, effecerat; muneribus, monimentis, congiariis, epulis multitudinem imperitam delenierat; suos praemiis, adversarios clementiae specie devinxerat; quid multa? attulerat iam liberae civitati partim metu, partim patientia consuetudinem serviendi.

117 XLVI. Cum illo ego te dominandi cupiditate conferre possum, ceteris vero rebus nullo modo comparandus es. Sed ex plurimis malis, quae ab illo rei publicae sunt inusta, hoc tamen boni extitit, quod didicit iam populus Romanus, quantum cuique crederet, quibus se committeret, a quibus caveret. Haec non cogitas, neque intellegis satis esse viris fortibus didicisse, quam sit re pulchrum, beneficio gratum, fama gloriosum tyrannum occidere? An,
118 cum illum homines non tulerint, te ferent? Certatim posthac, mihi crede, ad hoc opus curretur, neque occasionis tarditas expectabitur.

Resipisce, quaeso, aliquando;[1] quibus ortus sis, non quibuscum vivas, considera; mecum, ut voles, redi cum re publica in gratiam. Sed de te tu videris, ego de me ipse profitebor. Defendi rem publicam adulescens, non deseram senex; contempsi Catilinae gladios, non pertimescam tuos. Quin etiam corpus libenter optulerim, si repraesentari morte mea liber-

[1] *Respice, quaeso, ali . . . quibus* (Vat. MS.). Other MSS. add *rempublicam.* The text is Jeep's amendment folld. by Kayser.

diligence; he had done in war things, however calamitous to the State, yet at least great; having for many years aimed at a throne, he had by great labour, great dangers, achieved his object; by shows, buildings, largesses, banquets he had conciliated the ignorant crowd; his own followers he had bound to him by rewards, his adversaries by a show of clemency: in brief, he had already brought to a free community—partly by fear, partly by endurance—a habit of servitude.

XLVI. With him I can compare you in lust of domination, but in other things you are in no wise comparable. But out of very many evils which he has inflicted on the Commonwealth, there has emerged this much good: the Roman people has now learned how much to trust each man, on whom to rely, of whom to beware. Think you not of these things? and do you not understand that it is enough for brave men to have learned how beautiful in act, how grateful in benefit, how glorious in report, it is to slay a tyrant? Or will men, when they did not endure him, endure you? In rivalry hereafter, believe me, they will hurry to do this work, and no slow-coming opportunity will be waited for.

Recover your senses, at length, I beseech you; consider those from whom you are sprung, not those with whom you live; treat me as you will; be reconciled to the State. But you must look to your own conduct; for myself I will make my own profession. I defended the State in youth, I will not desert it in old age; I despised the swordsmen of Catiline, I will not dread yours. Aye, and even my body will I gladly offer if the liberty of the State can be realised by my death, so that the anguish

119 tas civitatis potest, ut aliquando dolor populi Romani pariat, quod iam diu parturit. Etenim, si abhinc annos prope viginti hoc ipso in templo negavi posse mortem immaturam esse consulari, quanto verius nunc negabo seni! Mihi vero, patres conscripti, iam etiam optanda mors est perfuncto rebus iis, quas adeptus sum quasque gessi. Duo modo haec opto, unum, ut moriens populum Romanum liberum relinquam (hoc mihi maius ab dis immortalibus dari nihil potest), alterum, ut ita cuique eveniat, ut de re publica quisque mereatur.

of the Roman people may some time bring to birth that with which it has so long travailed. For if nearly twenty years ago in this very temple I said that death could not come untimely to a consular,[1] with how much greater truth shall I say it in old age! By me indeed, Conscript Fathers, death is even to be wished for, now that the honours I have won and the deeds I have performed are past. These two things only I pray for; one, that in my death I may leave the Roman people free—than this no greater gift can be given me by the immortal Gods—the other, that each man's fortune may be according to his deserts toward the State.

[1] "Neque turpis mors forti viro potest accidere, neque immatura consulari, nec misera sapienti"; *in Cat.* iv. 2. 3.

INTRODUCTION TO PHILIPPIC III

About the 9th of October Antonius proceeded to Brundisium to take command of the four legions from Macedonia which—against the will of the Senate—had been assigned to him by the people in their tribes. He intended, says Cicero (*Phil.* 2. 2), to march them to Rome for the purpose of a general massacre. On his way he put to death some soldiers at Suessa (*Phil.* 3. 4). At Brundisium he attempted to win the legions to his cause, and offered them a donation of 100 denarii a man, in English money about £3 6*s.* 8*d.* But the legions, who had expected more from him than Octavian was offering them, laughed at his stinginess (Dio 45. 13; App. 3. 43), and raised a tumult. According to Cicero, he then slaughtered picked centurions of the Martians in the presence of his wife and himself.[1] In the meantime Octavian went on levying troops. He won over to his side, by a promise of 500 denarii a head

[1] *Phil.* 13. 8. Appian (*l.c.*) gives a more detailed account. This was that Antonius called for the roll-call of the legion, in which was entered each man's military record; chose by lot "according to military law" every tenth man of the disaffected, and put to death *some* of them. Dio, who confirms Cicero as to the slaughter being in the presence of Fulvia, says that "he commanded amongst others the centurions to be slaughtered."

Cicero says (*Phil.* 3. 4) that A. slaughtered "up to 300 of the bravest of men and the best of citizens." As no legion had 300 centurions, the number mentioned must have included either civilians or common soldiers.

(about £17), the veterans at Casilinum and Calatia (*ad Att.* 16. 8), and at the beginning of November, before the Martian and the Fourth legions went over to him, was at the head of 3,000 men. "Plainly his object is," writes Cicero to Atticus (*ibid.*), "to conduct a war against Antonius; so that I see that in a few days we shall be in arms." With these troops Octavian, by Cicero's advice, marched to Rome, and in a popular assembly convened by the tribune Canutius delivered a violent attack upon Antonius: Dio 45. 12.

In November Antonius left the bulk of his army at Tibur, and illegally entered Rome with an armed force. He summoned the Senate for the 24th, threatening death against absentees, but was himself, says Cicero, too drunk to attend. He summoned it again for the 28th, forbidding three of the tribunes to attend. Although his object was to have Caesar Octavianus declared a public enemy, he made no proposal to that effect, but merely moved for a public thanksgiving in honour of Lepidus. In the midst of the debate news arrived that the Martian and the Fourth legions had declared for Octavian, and had taken up a post at Alba. Thoroughly frightened, he cut short the proceedings by calling for an immediate division, a most unusual course in the case of a motion for a thanksgiving, changed his dress for military garb, and hurried off to Alba to quell the mutiny. It was at this juncture that Cicero published the second Philippic.

Antonius, not being able to reconcile the legions at Alba, proceeded to Tibur, and kept his troops there in good humour by a donation of 500 denarii a head, the same sum as Caesar had promised his

own troops. And at the end of the month he marched against D. Brutus.

On the 20th of December the tribunes convened the Senate, the object being the protection of the new consuls on the 1st of January by means of an armed guard. Cicero had not intended to be present (*ad Fam.* 11. 6), but, having received an edict of D. Brutus in which he warned Antonius off his province of Cisalpine Gaul, and expressed his determination to keep it in allegiance to the Senate, he made up his mind to attend the debate, and his presence brought a full house. Cicero opened the debate with the third Philippic.

He regretted the delay in taking action till the 1st of January. Had it not been for Octavian Antonius would have inaugurated a general massacre and the State would have perished. The Martian and the Fourth legions had acted with loyalty in attaching themselves to Caesar, and his action should be confirmed by public authority and both he and the veterans be honoured and rewarded. Referring to the edict of D. Brutus, the orator said that Brutus was a worthy descendant of his ancestors who had expelled Tarquin, and Antonius was worse than Tarquin. The Senate should therefore confirm what D. Brutus had done on his own initiative. Antonius' conduct was such that he should not be regarded as a consul; otherwise the legions, Caesar, and Brutus were all criminals for having opposed him.

He referred to Antonius' conduct on November 24 and 28, on the latter of which dates he admitted himself to be a public enemy by not daring to move the Senate on the conduct of Octavian. One of the

two must be, but Caesar had been their salvation. He criticised the allotment of the provinces on the same date and enumerated Antonius' crimes and illegalities; and he regarded the brother Lucius as no better. Having D. Brutus and Caesar as their champions, they should seize the opportunity and act with vigour. The Roman people was born to be free, and freedom now could be achieved.

Alluding to this speech, Cicero writes (*ad Fam.* 10. 28) to Trebonius: "This day, and my exertions and pleadings, for the first time brought to the Roman people the hope of the recovery of their liberty."

M. TULLI CICERONIS IN M. ANTONIUM ORATIO PHILIPPICA TERTIA

1 I. Serius omnino, patres conscripti, quam tempus
rei publicae postulabat, aliquando tamen convocati
sumus, quod flagitabam equidem cotidie, quippe cum
bellum nefarium contra aras et focos, contra vitam
fortunasque nostras ab homine profligato ac perdito
non conparari, sed geri iam viderem. Expectantur
Kalendae Ianuariae; quas non expectat Antonius,
qui in provinciam D. Bruti, summi et singularis viri,
cum exercitu impetum facere conatur; ex qua se
instructum et paratum ad urbem venturum esse
2 minitatur. Quae est igitur expectatio aut quae vel
minimi dilatio temporis? Quamquam enim adsunt
Kalendae Ianuariae, tamen breve tempus longum est
inparatis; dies enim adfert vel hora potius, nisi
provisum est, magnas saepe clades; certus autem
dies non ut sacrificiis, sic consiliis expectari solet.
Quodsi aut Kalendae Ianuariae fuissent eo die, quo
primum ex urbe fugit Antonius, aut eae non essent
expectatae, bellum iam nullum haberemus. Aucto-
ritate enim senatus consensuque populi Romani facile
hominis amentis fregissemus audaciam. Quod con-
fido equidem consules designatos, simul ut magi-
stratum inierint, esse facturos; sunt enim optimo

THE THIRD PHILIPPIC OF M. TULLIUS CICERO AGAINST M. ANTONIUS

I. This meeting, Conscript Fathers, is altogether later than the public emergency demanded, yet at length we have been called together; a step I for my part urged daily, seeing as I did that an iniquitous war against our altars and hearths, against our lives and fortunes, was no longer being prepared, but was already being waged by a profligate and abandoned man. We are waiting for the Kalends of January; but Antonius does not wait for them; he is attempting with an army to attack the province of that eminent and remarkable man Decimus Brutus; and from it, when he has completed his equipment and preparation, he threatens a descent upon the city. What then means this waiting and delay even for the shortest time? For though the Kalends of January are at hand, yet a short time is long if men be unprepared; for a day, or rather an hour, unless there has been forethought, often brings great disasters; and an appointed day is not, as a rule, waited for in the taking of counsel as it is in sacrifices. But if either the Kalends of January had fallen on the day when Antonius first fled from the city, or we had not waited for it, we should not now be having any war, for by the authority of the Senate and the unanimous support of the Roman people we should easily have broken the audacity of a madman. This I indeed trust the consuls elect, as soon as they enter upon their office, will do; for they are men of

animo, summo consilio, singulari concordia. Mea autem festinatio non victoriae solum avida est, sed
3 etiam celeritatis. Quo enim usque tantum bellum, tam crudele, tam nefarium privatis consiliis propulsabitur? cur non quam primum publica accedit auctoritas?

II. C. Caesar adulescens, paene potius puer, incredibili ac divina quadam mente atque virtute, tum, cum maxime furor arderet Antoni, cumque eius a Brundisio crudelis et pestifer reditus timeretur, nec postulantibus nec cogitantibus, ne optantibus quidem nobis, quia non posse fieri videbatur, firmissimum exercitum ex invicto genere veteranorum militum comparavit patrimoniumque suum ecfudit; quamquam non sum usus eo verbo, quo debui; non enim ecfudit; in rei publicae salute
4 conlocavit. Cui quamquam gratia referri tanta non potest, quanta debetur, habenda tamen est tanta quantam maximam animi nostri capere possunt. Quis enim est tam ignarus rerum, tam nihil de re publica cogitans, qui hoc non intellegat, si M. Antonius a Brundisio cum iis copiis, quas se habiturum putabat, Romam, ut minabatur, venire potuisset, nullum genus eum crudelitatis praeteriturum fuisse? quippe qui in hospitis tectis Brundisi fortissimos viros optimosque cives iugulari iusserit; quorum ante pedes eius morientium sanguine os uxoris respersum esse constabat. Hac ille crudelitate imbutus cum multo nobis omnibus[1] veniret iratior,

[1] *Bonis omnibus* (Vat. MS.).

[1] Of Caesar Octavianus and D. Brutus.

the best intentions, of the highest judgment, and of remarkable agreement. But my eagerness covets, not merely victory, but also speedy decision. For how long will a war, so serious, so cruel, so nefarious, be averted by private initiatives?[1] why are they not supported at the earliest possible moment by the authority of the State?

II. Caius Caesar, a young man, or rather almost a boy, but one of incredible, and, as it were, god-like intelligence and courage, at the very time when Antonius' frenzy was at its greatest heat, and when his cruel and deadly return from Brundisium was dreaded, while we were not asking for, or thinking of, assistance, nor even hoping for it, for it seemed impossible, collected a very stout army of the invincible class of veterans, and lavished his patrimony—though I have not used the proper phrase; for he did not lavish it, he invested it in the salvation of the State. And although we cannot recompense him to the extent our debt to him requires, yet we should feel a gratitude the greatest our hearts can conceive. For who is so blind to events, so thoughtless for the State, as not to understand this, that, if Marcus Antonius had been able to reach Rome, as he threatened, with the forces he had thought to have, he would have omitted no kind of cruelty, seeing that, under his host's roof at Brundisium, he commanded the butchery of the bravest of men and the best of citizens, with whose blood, as they were dying at his feet, it was well known his wife's face was besprinkled? Steeped as he was in such cruelty, since he was becoming much more enraged against us all than he had been against those whom he had

quam illis fuerat, quos trucidarat, cui tandem nostrum aut cui omnino bono pepercisset?

5 Qua peste privato consilio rem publicam (neque enim fieri potuit aliter) Caesar liberavit. Qui nisi in hac re publica natus esset, rem publicam scelere Antoni nullam haberemus. Sic enim perspicio, sic iudico, nisi unus adulescens illius furentis impetus crudelissimosque conatus cohibuisset, rem publicam funditus interituram fuisse. Cui quidem hodierno die, patres conscripti, (nunc enim primum ita convenimus, ut illius beneficio possemus ea, quae sentiremus, libere dicere) tribuenda est auctoritas, ut rem publicam non modo a se susceptam, sed etiam a nobis commendatam possit defendere.

6 III. Nec vero de legione Martia, quoniam longo intervallo loqui nobis de re publica licet, sileri potest. Quis enim unus fortior, quis amicior umquam rei publicae fuit quam legio Martia universa? Quae cum hostem populi Romani Antonium iudicasset, comes esse eius amentiae noluit; reliquit consulem; quod profecto non fecisset, si eum consulem iudicasset, quem nihil aliud agere, nihil moliri nisi caedem civium atque interitum civitatis videret. Atque ea legio consedit Albae. Quam potuit urbem eligere aut opportuniorem ad res gerundas aut fideliorem aut fortiorum virorum aut amiciorum[1] rei
7 publicae civium? Huius legionis virtutem imitata

[1] *Fortium vir. aut amicorum* (Vat.). The genitive is descriptive of "urbem."

murdered, which of us, I ask, or what honest man whatever, would he have spared?

From this calamity Caesar on his own initiative—it could not be otherwise—has freed the State. Had he not been born in this commonwealth, we should, by the crime of Antonius, now possess no commonwealth at all. For this is my belief, this my judgment: had not a single youth withstood that madman's attack and most cruel attempts, the commonwealth would have utterly perished. On him indeed to-day, Conscript Fathers,—for we are now for the first time assembled with power, thanks to him, freely to utter our sentiments—we must confer authority to enable him to defend the commonwealth, as a charge not merely undertaken by him, but entrusted to him by us.

III. And indeed, now we are permitted, after a long interval, to speak on State affairs, we cannot be silent regarding the Martian legion. For what single person has ever been braver, who more friendly to the State than the whole of the Martian legion? Having decided, as it did, that Marcus Antonius was an enemy of the Roman people, it refused to be an ally of his madness; it abandoned a consul—it certainly would not have done that had it judged him to be a real consul—whom it saw to be aiming at, and striving for nothing but the slaughter of citizens and the destruction of the State. And then that legion took up its station at Alba. What city could it have chosen either more conveniently placed for action, or more loyal, or consisting of braver men, or of citizens more friendly to the State? Copying the courage of this legion, the fourth legion, under the command of

quarta legio duce L. Egnatuleio quaestore, civi optimo et fortissimo, C. Caesaris auctoritatem atque exercitum persecuta est. Faciundum est igitur nobis, patres conscripti, ut ea, quae sua sponte clarissimus adulescens atque omnium praestantissimus gessit et gerit, haec auctoritate nostra comprobentur veteranorumque fortissimorum virorum, tum legionis Martiae quartaeque mirabilis consensus ad rem publicam reciperandam laude et testimonio nostro confirmetur, eorumque commoda, honores, praemia, cum consules designati magistratum inierint, curae nobis fore hodierno die spondeamus.

8 IV. Atque ea quidem, quae dixi de Caesare deque eius exercitu, iam diu nota sunt nobis. Virtute enim admirabili Caesaris constantiaque militum veteranorum legionumque earum, quae optimo iudicio auctoritatem vestram, libertatem populi Romani, virtutem Caesaris secutae sunt, a cervicibus nostris est depulsus Antonius. Sed haec, ut dixi, superiora; hoc vero recens edictum D. Bruti, quod paulo ante propositum est, certe silentio non potest praeteriri. Pollicetur enim se provinciam Galliam retenturum in senatus populique Romani potestate. O civem natum rei publicae, memorem sui nominis imitatoremque maiorum! Neque enim Tarquinio expulso maioribus nostris tam fuit optata libertas, quam est depulso iam Antonio retinenda nobis:
9 illi regibus parere iam a condita urbe didicerant; nos post reges exactos servitutis oblivio ceperat. Atque ille Tarquinius, quem maiores nostri non

[1] It was this that induced C. to attend on Jan. 1: *Epp. ad Fam.* xi. 6.

Lucius Egnatuleius the quaestor, a most loyal and brave citizen, attached itself to the command and army of Caius Caesar. We therefore, Conscript Fathers, must see that what a most noble young man has of his own motion done and is doing should be ratified by our authority; and that the wonderful unanimity of the heroic veterans, and especially of the Martian and of the fourth legion, for the re-establishment of the State may be sanctioned by our praise and warrant; and we must engage to-day that when the consuls elect enter upon their office, their interests, honours, and rewards shall be our care.

IV. And what I have said of Caesar and of his army has long been known to us. For by Caesar's admirable courage, and the staunchness of the veteran soldiers, and of those legions which with the finest judgment have come to the aid of your authority, of the liberty of the Roman people, and of Caesar's courageous action, Antonius has been cast off from our necks. These things however are, as I have said, earlier; but the recent edict[1] of Decimus Brutus issued a short time since certainly cannot be passed over in silence. For he promises to keep the province of Gaul within the jurisdiction of the Senate and Roman people. Truly a citizen born to serve the State, mindful of the name he bears, and an imitator of his ancestors! For our ancestors' longing for liberty when Tarquin was expelled was not so great as ours should be to retain it now Antonius has been driven off; they had learned ever since the foundation of the city to obey kings; we after the eviction of the kings had forgotten our servitude. And that Tarquin whom our ancestors would not

tulerunt, non crudelis, non impius, sed superbus est habitus et dictus; quod nos vitium in privatis saepe tulimus, id maiores nostri ne in rege quidem ferre potuerunt.

L. Brutus regem superbum non tulit; D. Brutus
sceleratum atque impium regnare patietur Antonium?
Quid Tarquinius tale, qualia innumerabilia et facit
et fecit Antonius? Senatum etiam reges habebant;
nec tamen ut Antonio senatum habente in consilio
regis versabantur barbari armati. Servabant auspicia
reges; quae hic consul augurque neglexit, neque
solum legibus contra auspicia ferendis, sed etiam
conlega una ferente eo, quem ipse ementitis auspiciis
10 vitiosum fecerat. Quis autem rex umquam fuit
tam insignite inpudens, ut haberet omnia commoda,
beneficia, iura regni venalia? quam hic immunitatem,
quam civitatem, quod praemium non vel singulis
hominibus vel civitatibus vel universis provinciis
vendidit? Nihil humile de Tarquinio, nihil sordidum
accepimus; at vero huius domi inter quasilla pende-
batur aurum, numerabatur pecunia; una in domo
omnes, quorum intererat, totum imperium populi
Romani nundinabantur. Supplicia vero in civis
Romanos nulla Tarquini accepimus; at hic et
Suessae iugulavit eos, quos in custodiam dederat, et
Brundisi ad trecentos fortissimos viros civisque
11 optimos trucidavit. Postremo Tarquinius pro populo
Romano bellum gerebat tum, cum est expulsus;
Antonius contra populum Romanum exercitum ad-

brook was not considered and called cruel, not impious, but "The Proud," a fault which we have often brooked in private individuals, but which our ancestors could not brook even in a king.

Lucius Brutus did not brook a proud king; shall Decimus Brutus endure the reign of the accursed and impious Antonius? What single act did Tarquin do of the innumerable acts Antonius is both doing and has done? Even the kings had a Senate; and yet no armed barbarians were present in the king's council as when Antonius holds a Senate. The kings observed the auspices, which this consul and augur has neglected, not only by proposing laws in defiance of the auspices, but also with that very colleague joining in the proposal whose election he had annulled by falsifying the auspices. Again, what king was so signally shameless as to regard all the interests, the grants, the laws of the kingdom as objects of sale? what exemption, what citizenship, what reward, has not this man sold, either to individuals, or to States, or to whole provinces? We have heard of Tarquin nothing mean, nothing sordid; but at this man's house amid the women's work-baskets gold used to be weighed, moneys counted; in one man's house all those whose concern it was used to traffic with the whole empire of the Roman people. We certainly have heard of no punishments inflicted by Tarquin on Roman citizens; but this man both at Suessa butchered those he had captured, and at Brundisium murdered as many as three hundred of the bravest men and best of citizens. Lastly, Tarquin was carrying on war on behalf of the Roman people at the time he was expelled; Antonius was leading an army against

ducebat tum, cum a legionibus relictus nomen Caesaris exercitumque pertimuit neglectisque sacrificiis sollemnibus ante lucem vota ea, quae numquam solveret, nuncupavit, et hoc tempore in provinciam populi Romani conatur invadere. Maius igitur a D. Bruto beneficium populus Romanus et habet et expectat, quam maiores nostri acceperunt a L. Bruto, principe huius maxime conservandi generis et nominis.

12 V. Cum autem omnis servitus est misera, tum vero intolerabilis est servire inpuro, inpudico, effeminato, numquam ne in metu quidem sobrio. Hunc igitur qui Gallia prohibet, privato praesertim consilio, iudicat verissimeque iudicat non esse consulem. Faciendum est igitur nobis, patres conscripti, ut D. Bruti privatum consilium auctoritate publica comprobemus Nec vero M. Antonium consulem post Lupercalia debuistis putare. Quo enim ille die populo Romano inspectante nudus, unctus, ebrius est contionatus et id egit, ut collegae diadema imponeret, eo die se non modo consulatu, sed etiam libertate abdicavit; esset enim ipsi certe statim serviendum, si Caesar ab eo regni insignia accipere voluisset. Hunc igitur ego consulem, hunc civem Romanum, hunc liberum, hunc denique hominem putem, qui foedo illo et flagitioso die, et quid pati C. Caesare vivo posset, et quid eo mortuo consequi ipse cuperet, ostendit?

[1] Consuls and praetors, on departing to their provinces, made solemn vows: Livy, xci. 10. C. means that A. would never be called upon to fulfil his vows, as the Gods would not grant his prayers.

the Roman people at the time when, deserted by his legions, he quailed at the name of Caesar and his army, and, neglecting the usual sacrifices, uttered before daylight those solemn vows[1] he was never fated to fulfil; and at this time he is trying to invade a province of the Roman people. Greater then is the benefit the Roman people both has and expects from Decimus Brutus than our ancestors received from Lucius Brutus, the founder of a race and name that should be, above everything, preserved.

V. But while all slavery is wretched, it is especially intolerable to be slaves of a man debauched, immodest, effeminate, even when in fear never sober. He then who debars this man from the province of Gaul, especially when he does so on his individual judgment, decides, and most truly decides, that he is no consul. We must see then, Conscript Fathers, that we ratify by our general authority the individual judgment of Decimus Brutus. And of a truth you ought not to have thought Marcus Antonius a consul after the Lupercalia. For on the day when, before the eyes of the Roman people, he harangued while naked, anointed, and drunk, and aimed at placing a diadem on his colleague's head—on that day he abdicated, not his consulship only, but also his freedom; for he himself would certainly have been at once a slave had Caesar been willing to accept the tokens of royalty. Am I then to consider this man a consul, this man a Roman citizen, this man a free man, in a word, this man a human being, who on that foul and iniquitous day showed what he could endure while Caius Caesar was alive, and what he himself wished to gain for himself when he was dead?

13 Nec vero de virtute, constantia, gravitate provinciae Galliae taceri potest. Est enim ille flos Italiae, illud firmamentum imperii populi Romani, illud ornamentum dignitatis. Tantus autem est consensus municipiorum coloniarumque provinciae Galliae, ut omnes ad auctoritatem huius ordinis maiestatemque populi Romani defendendam conspirasse videantur. Quam ob rem, tribuni pl., quamquam vos nihil aliud nisi de praesidio, ut senatum tuto consules Kalendis Ianuariis habere possent, rettulistis, tamen mihi videmini magno consilio atque optima mente potestatem nobis de tota re publica fecisse dicendi. Cum enim tuto haberi senatum sine praesidio non posse iudicavistis, tum statuistis etiam intra muros Antoni scelus audaciamque versari.

14 VI. Quam ob rem omnia mea sententia complectar vobis, ut intellego, non invitis, ut et praestantissimis ducibus a nobis detur auctoritas et fortissimis militibus spes ostendatur praemiorum et iudicetur non verbo, sed re non modo non consul, sed etiam hostis Antonius. Nam, si ille consul, fustuarium meruerunt legiones, quae consulem reliquerunt, sceleratus Caesar, Brutus nefarius, qui contra consulem privato consilio exercitus conparaverunt. Si autem militibus exquirendi sunt honores novi propter eorum divinum atque immortale meritum, ducibus autem ne referri quidem potest gratia, quis est, qui eum hostem non existimet, quem qui armis persequantur, conservatores rei publicae iudicentur?

Nor indeed can the courage, the staunchness, the constancy of the province of Gaul be passed over in silence. For that is the flower of Italy, that the mainstay of the empire of the Roman people, that the ornament of its dignity. And so great is the unanimity of the boroughs and colonies of the province of Gaul, that all seem to have united to defend the authority of this our order and the majesty of the Roman people. Wherefore, tribunes of the commons, though you moved merely for a guard that the consuls might on the Kalends of January be able in safety to hold a Senate, yet you appear to me to have, with great judgment and with the best design, enabled us to speak generally on State affairs; for when you decided that a Senate could not safely be held without a guard, you then determined that even within the walls the villainy and audacity of Antonius were at work.

VI. Wherefore I shall summarise the whole question by recording my vote—not, I perceive, against your wishes—that authority be given by us to most eminent generals, and hope of reward held out to most gallant soldiers, and that Antonius, not by words, but by deeds, may be adjudged to be not merely no consul, but also a public enemy. For if that man is a consul the legions that have deserted the consul have deserved death by the cudgel, Caesar is a criminal, Brutus is a villain, who of their own motion have levied armies to oppose a consul. But if new honours for the soldiers are to be devised to requite their god-like and immortal service, and if it be not even possible adequately to requite our generals, who is there but must count him an enemy when those who are in arms against him are adjudged saviours of the State?

15 At quam contumeliosus in edictis, quam barbarus, quam rudis! Primum in Caesarem maledicta congessit deprompta ex recordatione inpudicitiae et stuprorum suorum. Quis enim hoc adulescente castior, quis modestior? quod in iuventute habemus inlustrius exemplum veteris sanctitatis? quis autem illo, qui male dicit, impurior? Ignobilitatem obicit C. Caesaris filio, cuius etiam natura pater, si vita suppeditasset, consul factus esset. "Aricina mater." Trallianam aut Ephesiam putes dicere. Videte, quam despiciamur omnes, qui sumus e municipiis, id est omnes plane; quotus enim quisque nostrum non est? Quod autem municipium non contemnit is, qui Aricinum tanto opere despicit vetustate antiquissimum, iure foederatum, propinquitate paene finitimum, splendore municipum honestissimum?
16 Hinc Voconiae, hinc Atiniae leges, hinc multae sellae curules et patrum memoria et nostra, hinc equites Romani lautissimi et plurimi. Sed, si Aricinam uxorem non probas, cur probas Tusculanam? Quamquam huius sanctissimae feminae atque optimae pater, M. Atius Balbus, in primis honestus, praetorius fuit; tuae coniugis, bonae feminae, locupletis quidem certe, Bambalio quidam pater, homo nullo numero. Nihil illo contemptius,

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[1] He had been praetor, a fact which in itself made Oct. *nobilis*. He was the head of the Octavian house, and had married Atia, the niece of Julius Caesar. The younger Octavius, the grand-nephew of the Dictator, was adopted by the latter's will.

[2] The Lex Voconia of 169 B.C. (*inter alia*) deprived women in certain cases of inheritance by will. The Lex Atinia of 197 B.C. prevented the ownership of stolen property being acquired by long possession (*usucapio*). Another of 130 B.C. (a *plebiscitum*) gave a tribune the rank of Senator.

But how insulting he is in his edicts! how boorish! how ignorant! First of all he has heaped on Caesar abuse culled from the recollection of his own indecency and licentiousness. For who is chaster than this young man? who more modest? What brighter example among youth have we of old-world purity? Who, on the contrary, is more unchaste than the calumniator? He taunts the son of Caius Caesar with the meanness of his birth, though his actual father too would have been a consul[1] had his life lasted. "His mother was from Aricia"—you might think he was speaking of a woman from Tralles or Ephesus! Mark how all of us who come from country boroughs are looked down upon—I mean absolutely all; for how few of us do not so come? And what borough does he not despise when he so utterly looks down upon the borough of Aricia, one in antiquity the most ancient, by treaty allied to us, in situation almost our neighbour, in the high repute of its burghers most honourable? Hence were derived the Voconian, hence the Atinian laws;[2] hence came many curule magistrates within the memory of our fathers and our own; hence have sprung Roman knights of great wealth, and many in number. But if you disapprove of a wife from Aricia, why do you approve of one from Tusculum? And yet the one was a most pure and excellent woman, whose father Marcus Atius Balbus,[3] an especially worthy man, was an ex-praetor; your wife, a good enough woman, at any rate a rich one, had for father a certain Bambalio, a person of no account. He was the most contemptible fellow

[3] The husband of Julia, J. Caesar's sister, and father of Atia, mother of the younger Caesar.

qui propter haesitantiam linguae stuporemque cordis cognomen ex contumelia traxerit. "At avus nobilis." Tuditanus nempe ille, qui cum palla et cothurnis nummos populo de rostris spargere solebat. Vellem hanc contemptionem pecuniae suis reliquisset! Habetis nobilitatem generis gloriosam.
17 Qui autem evenit, ut tibi † Iulia natus[1] ignobilis videatur, cum tu eodem materno genere soleas gloriari? Quae porro amentia est eum dicere aliquid de uxorum ignobilitate, cuius pater Numitoriam Fregellanam, proditoris filiam, habuerit uxorem, ipse ex libertini filia susceperit liberos? Sed hoc clarissimi viri viderint, L. Philippus, qui habet Aricinam uxorem, C. Marcellus, qui Aricinae filiam; quos certo scio dignitatis optimarum feminarum non paenitere.

VII. Idem etiam Q. Ciceronem, fratris mei filium, compellat edicto nec sentit amens commendationem esse conpellationem suam. Quid enim accidere huic adulescenti potuit optatius quam cognosci ab omnibus Caesaris consiliorum esse socium, Antoni
18 furoris inimicum? At etiam gladiator ausus est scribere hunc de patris et patrui parricidio cogitasse. O admirabilem impudentiam, audaciam, temeritatem, in eum adulescentem hoc scribere audere, quem ego et frater meus propter eius suavissimos atque optimos mores praestantissimumque ingenium cer-

[1] So the Vat. MS., *natus* being = *prognatus*.

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[1] Bambalio (from βαμβαινα) = Stammerer; *τὸν βαμβαλίωνα, τὸν ἀπ' αὐτῆς τῆς ἐπωνυμίας ἐπιβόητον*: Dion Cass. XL. 47.

[2] Caesar Octavianus. See n. 3 on p. 205.

in the world, who, by the hesitancy of his speech, and the dullness of his mind, got a name by way of a jibe.[1] "But his grandfather was noble." That Tuditanus you mean, of course, who in tragic robe and buskins used from the Rostra to scatter coins among the people. I wish he had bequeathed his family such scorn of money! You possess a nobility of race quite glorious! But how does it happen that one descended from a Julia[2] seems ignoble to you, when you are wont to exult in your descent from the same maternal stock? Moreover, what madness it is that a man should allude to the ignoble birth of wives, when his father had to wife Numitoria of Fregellae, the daughter of a traitor, and he himself has recognised his children by the daughter of a freedman! But let this matter be settled by such eminent men as Lucius Philippus who has a wife from Aricia, and Caius Marcellus who married the daughter of one from Aricia; they, I know well, are not dissatisfied with the rank of these excellent women.

VII. He also abuses Quintus Cicero, my brother's son, in his edict, and the madman does not perceive that his naming him is a recommendation. For what more desirable thing could happen to this young man than to be recognised by all as the partner of Caesar's counsels and the enemy of Antonius' frenzy? But the gladiator has even dared to say in writing that Quintus had plotted the murder of his father and his uncle. What marvellous impudence, audacity, and recklessness! to dare to make the charge in writing against a young man who, by the sweetness and excellence of his character, and eminent abilities, arouses in me and my brother a rivalry of affection,

tatim amamus omnibusque horis oculis, auribus, complexu tenemus! Nam me isdem edictis nescit laedat an laudet. Cum idem supplicium minatur optimis civibus, quod ego de sceleratissimis ac pessimis sumpserim, laudare videtur, quasi imitari velit; cum autem illam pulcherrimi facti memoriam refricat, tum a sui similibus invidiam aliquam in me commoveri putat.

19 VIII. Sed quid fecit ipse? Cum tot edicta proposuisset,[1] edixit, ut adesset senatus frequens a. d. VIII Kalendas Decembres; eo die ipse non adfuit. At quo modo edixit? Haec sunt, ut opinor, verba in extremo: 'Si quis non adfuerit, hunc existimare omnes poterunt et interitus mei et perditissimorum consiliorum auctorem fuisse.'

Quae sunt perdita consilia? an ea, quae pertinent ad libertatem populi Romani reciperandam? quorum consiliorum Caesari me auctorem et hortatorem et esse et fuisse fateor. Quamquam ille non eguit consilio cuiusquam, sed tamen currentem, ut dicitur, incitavi. Nam interitus quidem tui quis bonus non esset auctor, cum in eo salus et vita optimi cuiusque, libertas populi Romani dignitasque consisteret?

20 Sed cum tam atroci edicto nos concitavisset, cur ipse non adfuit? Num putatis aliqua re tristi ac severa? vino atque epulis retentus, si illae epulae potius quam popinae nominandae sunt, diem edicti

[1] Posuisset (MSS.).

[1] The suppression of Catiline's conspiracy.

and whom with eyes and ears and enfolding arms we cherish every hour! For, as to myself, he does not know whether he is wounding or praising me by these same edicts. When he threatens the most loyal citizens with the same punishment as I exacted from the greatest and vilest criminals he appears to be praising me, as though he wished to imitate me; but when he evokes afresh the memory of that most glorious deed,[1] then he imagines that some odium is shifted from persons like himself on to my shoulders.

VIII. But what did he do himself? When he had issued all these edicts he gave notice that there should be a full meeting of the Senate on the 24th of November. On that day he himself was absent. But what was the character of his notice? These are, I think, the words at the end: "If anyone is not present, all men will be able to regard him as one who advocates both my destruction and the most abandoned counsels."

What are "abandoned counsels"? are they such as aim at the recovery of the liberty of the Roman people? of which counsels I confess I am and have been to Caesar the supporter and the advocate. He, however, did not need any man's counsel: I urged, as the saying is, a willing horse. For of your destruction what loyal citizen would not be the advocate, seeing that in that consisted the safety and the life of every loyal man and the liberty and dignity of the Roman people?

But, after calling us together by so violent an edict, why was he himself not present? Do you think it was because of some sad and serious matter? He was detained by a drinking-bout and a feast—if that should be called a feast rather than a tavern blow-

obire neglexit, in ante diem quartum Kalendas Decembres distulit. Adesse in Capitolio iussit; quod in templum ipse nescio qua per Gallorum cuniculum ascendit. Convenerunt corrogati, et quidem ampli quidam homines, sed immemores dignitatis suae; is enim erat dies, ea fama, is, qui senatum vocarat, ut turpe senatori esset nihil timere. Ad eos tamen ipsos, qui convenerant, ne verbum quidem ausus est facere de Caesare, cum de eo constituisset ad senatum referre; scriptam
21 attulerat consularis quidam sententiam. Quid est aliud de eo referre non audere, qui contra se consulem exercitum duceret, nisi se ipsum hostem iudicare? Necesse erat enim alterutrum esse hostem, nec poterat aliter de adversariis iudicari ducibus. Si igitur Caesar hostis, cur consul nihil referat ad senatum? sin ille a senatu notandus non fuit, quid potest dicere, quin, cum de illo tacuerit, se hostem confessus sit? Quem in edictis Spartacum appellat, hunc in senatu ne improbum quidem dicere audet.

IX. At in rebus tristissimis quantos excitat risus! Sententiolas edicti cuiusdam memoriae mandavi, quas videtur ille peracutas putare; ego autem, qui intellegeret, quid dicere vellet, adhuc neminem inveni.
22 "Nulla contumelia est, quam facit dignus."
Primum quid est "dignus"? nam etiam malo

[1] C. in *Caec.* 30 speaks of a mine through which in 390 B.C. the Gauls attacked the Capitol. But Livy's account (v. 47) does not support this.

[2] *i.e.* not afraid to attend. C. seems to be excusing the absent.

[3] *i.e.* the younger Caesar.

[4] A Thracian gladiator who led a revolt of runaway slaves against Rome, 73–71 B.C. Cicero himself (*Phil.* iv. 6) calls Antonius a Spartacus.

out—and failed to come up to the appointed day; he postponed the Senate till the 28th of November. He ordered us to meet in the Capitol; and came up to the Temple by some underground passage of the Gauls.[1] Thus summoned, the assembly was held, and some indeed were men of note, but unmindful of their dignity; for, considering the day, the common talk, and who it was convened the Senate, the Senator was dishonoured who was without fear.[2] Yet to that assembly, such as it was, he did not venture to say even a word concerning Caesar,[3] although he had determined to make a motion about him in the Senate; a certain consular had brought the terms of the motion in draft. When he does not venture to make a motion about the man who was marching against him with an army, though he was consul, what else is this than to adjudge himself a public enemy? For necessarily one or the other was an enemy: no other judgment on the opposing leaders was possible. If then Caesar was an enemy, why was the consul not to move the Senate? but if Caesar was not so to be stigmatised by the Senate, what can Antonius say but that, in keeping silence about Caesar, he confessed himself to be an enemy? the man whom in his edicts he calls Spartacus[4] in the Senate he does not dare even to call dishonest.

IX. But on the saddest topics what laughter does he excite! I have committed to memory some pretty phrases of a certain edict; these he apparently thinks very acute; but I have so far not found anyone that understood what he meant.

"No insult is that which the worthy makes."

First of all, what is "worthy"? for many are

multi digni, sicut ipse. An "quam facit is, qui cum dignitate est"? Quae autem potest esse maior? Quid est porro "facere contumeliam"? Quis sic loquitur?

Deinde: "nec timor, quem denuntiat inimicus." Quid ergo? ab amico timor denuntiari solet? Horum similia deinceps. Nonne satius est mutum esse quam, quod nemo intellegat, dicere? En, cur magister eius ex oratore arator factus sit, possideat in agro publico campi Leontini duo milia iugerum immunia, ut hominem stupidum magis etiam infatuet mercede publica.

23 Sed haec leviora fortasse; illud quaero, cur tam mansuetus in senatu fuerit, cum in edictis tam ferus fuisset. Quid enim attinuerat L. Cassio tribuno pl., fortissimo et constantissimo civi, mortem denuntiare, si in senatum venisset, D. Carfulenum bene de re publica sentientem senatu vi et minis mortis expellere, Ti. Cannutium, a quo erat honestissimis contentionibus et saepe et iure vexatus, non templo solum, verum etiam aditu prohibere Capitoli? Cui senatus consulto ne intercederent, verebatur? De supplicatione, credo, M. Lepidi, clarissimi viri. At quod erat periculum, de cuius honore extraordinario cotidie aliquid cogitabamus, ne eius usitatus honos
24 impediretur? Ac ne sine causa videretur edixisse,

[1] C.'s criticism is very obscure. According to the meaning given to "*contumeliam facere*" ("inflict insult," as in Plautus, *Asin.* ii. 4. 82; or "suffer insult") C. seems to ask "What greater insult can there be than one inflicted (or suffered) by a man of real worth?" Quintilian, *Inst.* ix. 3. 13 takes *cont. facere* as meaning (as in *jacturam facere*), "to suffer insult"; a sense which, he says, was not Latin in C.'s time.

worthy of misfortune, like himself. Is it the insult "made" by a man of worth? But what greater insult can there be? Again, what is the meaning of "to make insult"? Who talks like that?[1]

Secondly: "Nor is a charge of 'fear' made by an adversary anything." What then? is a charge of fear usually made by a friend? Similar expressions follow. Would it not be better to be dumb than to say what no one understands? Mark the reason why his master[2] has abandoned tirades for tillage, and possesses of public land two thousand acres of Leontine territory free from taxes: it was to make a fool more fatuous still, and at the public cost.

But these matters are perhaps too trivial; what I ask is this—why he was so tame in the Senate, although in his edicts he had been so wild. For what occasion was there to threaten with death, if he came into the Senate, Lucius Cassius, tribune of the commons, a very brave and steadfast citizen? to drive out of the Senate by violence and threats of death Decimus Carfulenus, a man well-affected towards the State? to debar, not only from the Temple, but also from the approaches to the Capitol, Tiberius Cannutius, by whom he had been often and rightly assailed with the most honest arguments? On what decree of the Senate did he fear they would put their veto? On that, I suppose, concerning public thanks to that most illustrious man, Marcus Lepidus. But what risk was there that, while we were every day thinking how we could confer upon him some extraordinary honour, he might be prevented from receiving that which was customary? And that he might not appear to have given notice

[2] S. Clodius, A.'s tutor in rhetoric: cf. *Phil.* ii. 17.

ut senatus adesset, cum de re publica relaturus fuisset, adlato nuntio de legione quarta mente concidit et fugere festinans senatus consultum de supplicatione per discessionem fecit, cum id factum esset antea numquam.

X. Quae vero profectio postea, quod iter paludati, quae vitatio oculorum, lucis, urbis, fori, quam misera fuga, quam foeda, quam turpis! Praeclara tamen senatus consulta illo ipso die vespertina, provinciarum religiosa sortitio, divina vero opportunitas, ut,
25 quae cuique apta esset, ea cuique obveniret! Praeclare igitur facitis, tribuni pl., qui de praesidio consulum senatusque referatis, meritoque vestro maximas vobis gratias omnes et agere et habere debemus. Qui enim periculo carere possumus in tanta hominum cupiditate et audacia? ille autem homo adflictus et perditus quae de se expectat iudicia graviora quam amicorum suorum? Familiarissimus eius, mihi homo coniunctus, L. Lentulus, et P. Naso omni carens cupiditate nullam se habere provinciam, nullam Antoni sortitionem fuisse iudicaverunt. Quod idem fecit L. Philippus, vir patre, avo, maioribus suis dignissimus; in eadem sententia fuit homo summa integritate atque innocentia, C. Turranius; idem fecit Sp. Oppius; ipsi etiam, qui

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[1] Which had refused to recognise A. as its commander, and had joined the Martian Legion in revolt: see *Phil.* iv. 2. 6.

[2] *i.e.* by a silent vote, there thus being no opportunity for panegyric, which on such an occasion would be expected. Ordinarily individual Senators were called upon separately.

[3] The *paludamentum*, being assumed after solemn vows, had a certain sanctity (*in Verr.* v. 13). C. may mean that A.'s conduct was almost sacrilege.

[4] An illegal time: Varro apud Gell. 14. 7

of a meeting of the Senate without cause, he was about to make a motion on State affairs, when, on receiving the news about the fourth legion,[1] he was dumbfounded, and, in his haste to fly, caused the Senate's decree on the public thanksgiving to be passed by a division,[2] although that had been done before on no single occasion.

X. But what a setting-out there was afterwards! what a journey, and made in military cloak![3] what an avoidance of men's eyes, of the light of day, of the city, of the forum! how sorry was his flight, how scandalous, how disgraceful! Yet splendid were the decrees of the Senate made on that very day after nightfall[4]; scrupulously exact was the allotment of the provinces; truly Heaven-directed the fitness whereby what suited each individual should come to that individual! You do splendidly therefore, tribunes of the people, in moving the question of the protection of the consuls and Senate, and for your service all of us ought to express and to feel the greatest gratitude to you. For how can we be free from danger amid such cupidity and audacity of men? and where does that ruined and abandoned man expect heavier judgments on himself than from his own friends? His closest intimate, a friend of mine, Lucius Lentulus, and Publius Naso, a man devoid of all covetousness, have decided that they have no province, that the allotment made by Marcus Antonius was invalid. Lucius Philippus, a man eminently worthy of his father, his grandfather, and his ancestors, has done the same thing; of the same opinion was Caius Turranius, a man of the greatest integrity and purity of life; Spurius Oppius has done the same; the very men too who, out of regard

amicitiam M. Antoni veriti plus ei tribuerunt, quam fortasse vellent, M. Piso, necessarius meus et vir et civis egregius, parique innocentia M. Vehilius senatus auctoritati se optemperaturos esse dixerunt.
26 Quid ego de L. Cinna loquar? cuius spectata multis magnisque rebus singularis integritas minus admirabilem facit huius honestissimi facti gloriam; qui omnino provinciam neglexit; quam item magno animo et constanti C. Cestius repudiavit.

Qui sunt igitur reliqui, quos sors divina delectet? † L. Annius, M. Antonius. O felicem utrumque! nihil enim maluerunt. C. Antonius Macedoniam. Hunc quoque felicem! hanc enim habebat semper in ore provinciam. C. Calvisius Africam. Nihil felicius! modo enim ex Africa decesserat et quasi divinans se rediturum duos legatos Uticae reliquerat. Deinde M. † Cusini Sicilia,[1] Q. Cassi Hispania. Non habeo, quid suspicer; duarum credo provinciarum sortes minus divinas fuisse.

27 XI. O C. Caesar (adulescentem appello), quam tu salutem rei publicae adtulisti, quam inprovisam, quam repentinam! Qui enim haec fugiens fecerit, quid faceret insequens? Etenim in contione dixerat se custodem fore urbis seque usque ad Kalendas Maias ad urbem exercitum habiturum. O praeclarum custodem ovium, ut aiunt, lupum! Custosne urbis an direptor et vexator esset Antonius? Et quidem se introiturum in urbem dixit exiturumque, cum

[1] So the Vat. MS. Cusinus is unknown. Orelli amends "*M. Iccius Siciliam; Q. Cassius Hispaniam.*"

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[1] C. probably means that these two men were opponents, not partisans, of A., there being thus less suspicion of favouritism.

[2] *Ovem lupo commisisti*: Ter. *Eun.* 5. 1. 16.

to their friendship with Marcus Antonius, have paid him more respect than perhaps they wished, Marcus Piso, my connexion, excellent as a man and as a citizen, and Marcus Vehilius, one of equal probity, have stated they will bow to the authority of the Senate. What shall I say of Lucius Cinna? whose singular integrity, proved in many important affairs, has made the glory won by this most honourable action less a matter of wonder. He has altogether disregarded his province; and Caius Cestius also has with great spirit and firmness repudiated his.

Who then are left for the Heaven-sent allotment to delight? Lucius Annius and Marcus Antonius! A happy pair! nothing they wished more. Caius Antonius gets Macedonia. He also is happy; for this province he had always in his eye. Caius Calvisius gets Africa. Nothing could be happier; for he had just returned from Africa, and divining, as it were, his return, had left two legates at Utica. Next to Marcus Cusinius belongs Sicily, to Quintus Cassius Spain. I have no ground for suspicion; I fancy the allotment of these two provinces was less the work of Heaven.[1]

XI. O Caius Caesar!—I call on the young man—what safety have you brought the State! safety how unlooked for! how sudden! For if the man did these things as a fugitive, what would he do if he were in pursuit? For he had declared in an harangue that he would be the city's guardian, and would keep his army by the city till the Kalends of May. What an excellent guardian of sheep, say they, is a wolf![2] Would Antonius be the guardian of the city, or rather its plunderer and harasser? And he said indeed that he would enter and go out

vellet. Quid? illud nonne audiente populo sedens pro aede Castoris dixit, nisi qui vicisset, victurum neminem?

28 Hodierno die primum, patres conscripti, longo intervallo in possessione libertatis pedem ponimus, cuius quidem ego, quoad potui, non modo defensor, sed etiam conservator fui. Cum autem id facere non possem, quievi, nec abiecte nec sine aliqua dignitate casum illum temporum et dolorem tuli. Hanc vero taeterrimam beluam quis ferre potest aut quo modo? Quid est in Antonio praeter libidinem, crudelitatem, petulantiam, audaciam? Ex his totus conglutinatus est. Nihil apparet in eo ingenuum, nihil moderatum, nihil pudens, nihil pudicum.

29 Quapropter, quoniam res in id discrimen adducta est, utrum ille poenas rei publicae luat, an nos serviamus, aliquando, per deos immortales, patres conscripti, patrium animum virtutemque capiamus, ut aut libertatem propriam Romani et generis et nominis reciperemus aut mortem servituti anteponamus! Multa, quae in libera civitate ferenda non essent, tulimus et perpessi sumus, alii spe forsitan reciperandae libertatis, alii vivendi nimia cupiditate; sed, si illa tulimus, quae nos necessitas ferre coëgit, quae vis quaedam paene fatalis, (quae tamen ipsa non tulimus) etiamne huius impuri latronis feremus taeterrimum crudelissimumque dominatum?

30 XII. Quid hic faciet, si poterit, iratus, qui cum suscensere nemini posset, omnibus bonis fuerit inimicus? quid hic victor non audebit, qui nullam

[1] This was illegal: cf. n. 3, p. 277.
[2] Julius Caesar's.

of the city when he chose.[1] And what of this too? Did he not, in the hearing of the people, say, while sitting in front of the temple of Castor, that, except of the victors, no man should be left alive?

To-day for the first time, Conscript Fathers, after a long interval we set our feet in possession of liberty; of which I, so far as I could, have been, not the mere defender, but even the saviour. When I could not do that, I remained quiet, and—not abjectly or without a measure of dignity—bore those chances of the times and my own sorrow. But this most savage beast—who can bear him, and how? What is there in Antonius save lust, cruelty, insolence, audacity? Of these qualities he is wholly compacted; nothing shows in him of good feeling, of moderation, of modesty, of chastity. Wherefore, since matters have been brought to the point that we must decide whether he should pay penalties to the State, or we be slaves, by Heaven! Conscript Fathers, let us at length put on our fathers' spirit and courage, so that either we may recover the native liberty of the Roman race and name, or prefer death to slavery. Many things unendurable in a free community we have borne and endured, some of us perhaps in the hope of recovering liberty, others through excessive desire of life; but if we have borne the things which necessity, which a force, almost that of fate,[2] has compelled us to bear —and yet bear them we did not—shall we also bear the most savage and cruel tyranny of this foul brigand?

XII. What will this man do, if he once be able, in his anger, when, with no ability to show wrath against anyone, he has become the enemy of all good men? what will he not dare to do as a victor when, with-

adeptus victoriam tanta scelera post Caesaris interitum fecerit, refertam eius domum exhauserit, hortos conpilaverit, ad se ex iis omnia ornamenta transtulerit, caedis et incendiorum causam quaesierit ex funere, duobus aut tribus senatus consultis bene et e re publica factis reliquas res ad lucrum praedamque revocaverit, vendiderit immunitates, civitates liberaverit, provincias universas ex imperii populi Romani iure sustulerit, exules reduxerit, falsas leges C. Caesaris nomine et falsa decreta in aes incidenda et in Capitolio figenda curaverit earumque rerum omnium domesticum mercatum instituerit, populo Romano leges imposuerit, armis et praesidiis popu-
31 lum et magistratus foro excluserit, senatum stiparit armatis, armatos in cella Concordiae, cum senatum haberet, incluserit, ad legiones Brundisium cucurrerit, ex iis optime sentientes centuriones iugulaverit, cum exercitu Romam sit ad interitum nostrum et ad dispertitionem [1] urbis venire conatus?

Atque is ab hoc impetu abstractus consilio et copiis Caesaris, consensu veteranorum, virtute legionum ne fortuna quidem fractus minuit audaciam nec ruere demens nec furere desinit. In Galliam mutilatum ducit exercitum, cum una legione, et ea vacillante, L. fratrem expectat, quo neminem reperire potest sui similiorem. Ille autem ex myrmillone dux, ex gladiatore imperator quas effecit strages, ubicumque posuit vestigium! *Fundit apothecas,*[2] caedit greges armentorum reliquique

[1] *Dispersionem* (Vat. MS.).

[2] These words are not found in the MSS., but are derived from Servius on Virg. *Aen.* 6. 55.

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[1] Julius Caesar.

out gaining any victory, he, after Caesar's death, has committed such crimes? He has gutted Caesar's well-furnished house; pillaged his gardens; from them transferred to himself all their appointments; sought in his funeral an excuse for massacre and arson; after passing two or three good decrees of the Senate in the interests of the State has reduced everything else to a question of profit and plunder; sold exemptions; freed communities from tribute; taken whole provinces out of the jurisdiction of the empire of the Roman people; recalled exiles; caused false laws and false decrees in the name of Caius Caesar [1] to be engraved on brass and posted in the Capitol, and of all those things has constituted a market in his house; imposed laws on the Roman people; with armed guards shut the people and the magistrates out of the forum; surrounded the Senate with armed men; shut armed men in the shrine of Concord when he held a Senate; run off to Brundisium to the legions; of their number butchered most loyal centurions; attempted to march on Rome with an army to destroy us and portion out the city.

And though he has been dragged off from this assault by Caesar's skill and forces, by the unanimity of the veterans, and the courage of the legions, even in his broken fortunes he does not abate his audacity or cease his mad rush and frenzy. He is leading a mutilated army into Gaul; with a single legion, and that wavering, he is waiting for his brother Lucius, the closest match to himself he can find. That man —once a matador, now a commander—once a gladiator, now a general—what havoc has he caused wherever he has planted his foot! He empties wine-cellars, slaughters herds of cattle and of other

pecoris, quodcumque nactus est; epulantur milites; ipse autem se, ut fratrem imitetur, obruit vino; vastantur agri, diripiuntur villae, matres familiae, virgines, pueri ingenui abripiuntur, militibus traduntur. Haec eadem, quacumque exercitum duxit, fecit M. Antonius.

32 XIII. His vos taeterrimis fratribus portas aperietis, hos umquam in urbem recipietis? non tempore oblato, ducibus paratis, animis militum incitatis, populo Romano conspirante, Italia tota ad libertatem reciperandam excitata deorum immortalium beneficio utemini? Nullum erit tempus hoc amisso. A tergo, fronte, lateribus tenebitur, si in Galliam venerit. Nec ille armis solum, sed etiam decretis nostris urguendus est. Magna vis est, magnum numen unum et idem sentientis senatus. Videtisne refertum forum populumque Romanum ad spem reciperandae libertatis erectum? qui longo intervallo cum frequentes hic videt nos, tum sperat etiam liberos convenisse.

33 Hunc ego diem expectans M. Antoni scelerata arma vitavi, tum cum ille in me absentem invehens non intellegebat, ad quod tempus me et meas vires reservarem. Si enim tum illi caedis a me initium quaerenti respondere voluissem, nunc rei publicae consulere non possem. Hanc vero nactus facultatem nullum tempus, patres conscripti, dimittam neque diurnum neque nocturnum, quin de libertate populi

beasts whatever he got hold of; his soldiers banquet; and he himself, in imitation of his brother, drowns himself in wine; fields are devastated; villas plundered; mothers of families, virgins, boys of good birth are carried off and given to the soldiers. These same things, wherever he led his army, were done by Marcus Antonius.

XIII. Is it to these most noisome brothers that *you* will open your gates? these that *you* will at any time admit into the city? Shall we not, now the occasion is offered, our leaders ready, the spirit of the soldiers stirred, the Roman people one in spirit, all Italy roused for the recovery of liberty, avail ourselves of the bounty of the immortal Gods? There will be no opportunity if you lose this. In rear, in front, on his flanks he will be held if he come into Gaul. Nor is it by arms only that he must be harassed, but also by decrees. Great is the force, great the divine majesty of a Senate with one and the same mind. Do you not see the packed forum, and how the Roman people is encouraged to hope for the recovery of their liberty? for now that after a long interval it has seen us assembled here in numbers, it hopes we have also met together as free men.

It was for this day I was waiting when I avoided the accursed arms of Marcus Antonius, when, inveighing against me in my absence, he did not understand the occasion for which I was reserving myself and my strength. For if I had been willing then to reply to him when he was looking for me as the first-fruit of a massacre, I should not now have been able to espouse the cause of the State. But, now I have gained this opportunity, I will let no moment pass, by day or night, without thought for

Romani et dignitate vestra, quod cogitandum sit, cogitem, quod agendum atque faciendum, id non modo non recusem, sed etiam appetam atque deposcam. Hoc feci, dum licuit; intermisi, quoad non licuit. Iam non solum licet, sed etiam necesse est, nisi servire malumus quam, ne serviamus, armis
34 animisque decernere. Di immortales nobis haec praesidia dederunt, urbi Caesarem, Brutum Galliae. Si enim ille opprimere urbem potuisset, statim, si Galliam tenere, paulo post optimo cuique pereundum erat, reliquis serviendum.

XIV. Hanc igitur occasionem oblatam tenete, per deos immortales, patres conscripti, et amplissimi orbis terrae consilii principes vos esse aliquando recordamini! Signum date populo Romano consilium vestrum non deesse rei publicae, quoniam ille virtutem suam non defuturam esse profitetur. Nihil est, quod moneam vos. Nemo est tam stultus, qui non intellegat, si indormierimus huic tempori, non modo crudelem superbamque dominationem nobis, sed ignominiosam etiam et flagitiosam ferendam esse.
35 Nostis insolentiam Antoni, nostis amicos, nostis totam domum. Libidinosis, petulantibus, impuris, impudicis, aleatoribus, ebriis servire, ea summa miseria est summo dedecore coniuncta. Quodsi iam, quod di omen avertant! fatum extremum rei publicae venit, quod gladiatores nobiles faciunt, ut honeste decumbant, faciamus nos principes orbis terrarum gentiumque omnium, ut cum dignitate potius cadamus quam cum ignominia serviamus.
36 Nihil est detestabilius dedecore, nihil foedius servitute. Ad decus et ad libertatem nati sumus;

the liberty of the Roman people and your dignity where thought is required; where action and deeds, I will not only not refuse, I will even seek and demand to act and do. This I did while I was allowed; I desisted so long as I was not allowed. Now not only is it allowed, but it is also imperative, unless we prefer to be slaves rather than to strive with weapon and spirit against slavery. The immortal Gods have given us these safeguards—for the city, Caesar, Brutus for Gaul; for if that man had been able to overpower the city, then at once, or, if he had been able to hold Gaul, soon after, every loyal citizen would have perished, and the rest been slaves.

XIV. Seize then, by the immortal Gods, this occasion offered you, Conscript Fathers, and at length remember you are the leaders of the proudest council in the world; give the Roman people a sign that your counsel does not fail the State, for that people declares that its courage will not fail. There is no need for my warning you. No man is so foolish as not to understand that, if we sleep on this crisis, we must bear a tyranny, not merely cruel and arrogant, but also ignominious and infamous. You know Antonius' insolence, you know his friends, you know his whole household. Slavery under men lustful, wanton, foul, unchaste, gamblers and drunkards, this is the utmost misery allied with the utmost disgrace. But if already—may the Gods avert the omen!—the State has been brought to its latest pass, let us, the leaders of the world and of all nations, do what stout gladiators do to die with honour, let us fall with dignity rather than serve with ignominy. Nothing is more detestable than disgrace, nothing fouler than servitude. It is to glory and to liberty we were

aut haec teneamus aut cum dignitate moriamur. Nimium diu teximus, quid sentiremus; nunc iam apertum est; omnes patefaciunt, in utramque partem quid sentiant, quid velint. Sunt impii cives, sed pro caritate rei publicae nimium multi, contra multitudinem bene sentientium admodum pauci; quorum opprimendorum di immortales incredibilem rei publicae potestatem et fortunam dederunt. Ad ea enim praesidia, quae habemus, iam accedent consules summa prudentia, virtute, concordia multos menses de populi Romani libertate commentati atque meditati. His auctoribus et ducibus, dis iuvantibus, nobis vigilantibus et multum in posterum providentibus, populo Romano consentiente erimus profecto liberi brevi tempore; iucundiorem autem faciet libertatem servitutis recordatio.

37 XV. Quas ob res, quod tribuni pl. verba fecerunt, uti senatus Kalendis Ianuariis tuto haberi sententiaeque de summa re publica libere dici possint, de ea re ita censeo:

Uti C. Pansa A. Hirtius, consules designati, dent operam, uti senatus Kalendis Ianuariis tuto haberi possit. Quodque edictum D. Bruti imperatoris, consulis designati, propositum sit, senatum existimare D. Brutum imperatorem, consulem designatum, optime de re publica mereri, cum senatus auctoritatem populique Romani libertatem imperiumque
38 defendat; quodque provinciam Galliam citeriorem

born; let us either hold fast to these or die with dignity. Too long have we veiled our feelings; now the matter is clear; all make plain on either side what they feel and what they wish. Disloyal citizens there are, gauged by our love of our country too many, yet, as against a multitude of the well-disposed, very few; to crush them the immortal Gods have given the State a marvellous power and opportunity. For to the safeguards we have will presently be added consuls of the highest judgment, courage, and unanimity, men that have these many months taken thought and consideration for the liberty of the Roman people. With these as our counsellors and leaders, with the help of the Gods, with ourselves alert and exercising full forethought for the future, with the Roman people in agreement, we shall surely be free in a short time; and our remembrance of servitude will lend an added charm to liberty.

XV. On these accounts, as the tribunes of the commons have spoken to ensure the Senate's assembling in safety in the Kalends of January, and the free expression of opinion on the highest matters of State, on that matter I move:

That Caius Pansa and Aulus Hirtius, the consuls elect, see to it that the Senate can be held in safety on the Kalends of January. And, whereas an edict of Decimus Brutus, general and consul elect, has been issued, the Senate is of opinion that Decimus Brutus, general and consul elect, has deserved excellently of the State in defending the authority of the Senate and the liberty and empire of the Roman people; and whereas he is keeping the province of Hither Gaul, one inhabited by citizens of the greatest

optimorum et fortissimorum amicissimorumque rei publicae civium, exercitumque in senatus potestate retineat, id eum exercitumque eius, municipia, colonias provinciae Galliae recte atque ordine exque re publica fecisse et facere. Senatum ad summam rem publicam pertinere arbitrari ab D. Bruto et L. Planco imperatoribus, consulibus designatis, itemque a ceteris, qui provincias optinent optineri ex lege Iulia, quoad ex senatus consulto cuique eorum successum sit, eosque dare operam, ut eae provinciae atque exercitus in senati populique Romani potestate praesidioque rei publicae sint.

Cumque opera, virtute, consilio C. Caesaris summoque consensu militum veteranorum, qui eius auctoritatem secuti rei publicae praesidio sunt et fuerunt, a gravissimis periculis populus Romanus
39 defensus sit et hoc tempore defendatur; cumque legio Martia Albae constiterit, in municipio fidelissimo et fortissimo, seseque ad senatus auctoritatem populique Romani libertatem contulerit; et quod pari consilio eademque virtute legio quarta usa L. Egnatuleio duce, civi egregio, senatus auctoritatem populique Romani libertatem defendat ac defenderit: senatui magnae curae esse ac fore, ut pro tantis eorum in rem publicam meritis honores eis habeantur

loyalty and courage and friendliness to the State, and his army in allegiance to the Senate, that he and his army, and the boroughs and colonies of the province of Gaul have acted and are acting rightly and in order and in the interests of the State. That the Senate is of opinion it vitally concerns the State that their provinces should be held by Decimus Brutus and Lucius Plancus, generals and consuls elect,[1] and also by the others who hold provinces, according to the Julian law, until a successor to each of these be appointed by senatorial decree; and that they should see to it that those provinces and armies be under the authority of the Senate and Roman people, and a protection of the State.

And whereas, by the help, courage, and judgment of Caius Caesar, and by the supreme harmony of the veteran soldiers, who, by following his leadership, guard, and have guarded the State, the Roman people has been defended, and is at the present time being defended, from the gravest perils; and whereas the Martian legion has stationed itself at Alba, in a borough of the greatest fidelity and courage, and has devoted itself to safeguard the authority of the Senate and the liberty of the Roman people; and whereas, with equal judgment and the same courage, the fourth legion under the command of Lucius Egnatuleius, an eminent citizen, is defending and has defended the authority of the Senate and the liberty of the Roman people: that the Senate does and shall take care that, in return for such services on their part to the State, honours be conferred upon

[1] They had been nominated by J. Caesar as consuls for 42 B.C. in succession to Pansa and Hirtius.

gratiaeque referantur. Senatui placere, uti C. Pansa A. Hirtius, consules designati, cum magistratum inissent, si eis videretur, primo quoque tempore de his rebus ad hunc ordinem referrent, ita uti e re publica fideque sua videretur.

them, and thanks be returned. That the Senate resolves that Caius Pansa and Aulus Hirtius, consuls elect, when they have entered upon their office, should, if it seem good to them, on the earliest occasion refer these matters to this body as it shall appear to them consonant with the interest of the State and their own loyalty.

INTRODUCTION TO PHILIPPIC IV

At the conclusion of the debate in the Senate on the 20th of December, Cicero proceeded to the Forum and there harangued the people. He showed that, though the term "enemy" had not been formally applied to Antonius, yet that in effect he had been so described; that the honours paid to Octavian, the action of the Martian and of the Fourth legions, and the Senate's commendations of D. Brutus and the province of Gaul, by implication declared Antonius to be an enemy of the State; that the struggle with Antonius (with whom no conditions of peace were possible) was to decide whether the Romans should be permitted to live at all. And he urged them to display the valour of their forefathers which had made the Romans the conquerors of the world.

Speaking of this speech in his harangue to the people in the sixth Philippic he said:

"Even if that day had been fated to be the end of my life, on it I had reaped an abundant harvest when you all with one mind and voice shouted that the State had been a second time preserved by me."

The genuineness of this speech has been, with what can only be regarded as craziness of scepticism, impugned by Krause. But King shows that his arguments, mostly *a priori*, are singularly unconvincing. These arguments are based on a passage cited by Nonius which does not occur in the speech

as we have it, to which the answer is that it may very well have dropped out; on the absence of topics which Cicero might have been expected to touch on, such as the details of the senatorial decree, the flight of Antonius from the city, the defence of the young Caesar, and abuse of Antonius' brothers. But, as King shows, it was not *necessary* for Cicero to allude to these topics. Another argument is the similarity of the subject-matter of the speech with that of the third Philippic, and often the recurrence of the same expressions. But this would be a not unnatural feature.

It may be mentioned that the end of the third chapter is quoted by Quintilian (9. 3. 86), and Isidorus (*Orig.* 2. 21. 11), and three words in the fifth chapter by Arusianus Messius. But in fact the eloquence and force of the whole speech mark it beyond question as Cicero's.

M. TULLI CICERONIS IN M. ANTONIUM ORATIO PHILIPPICA QUARTA

1 I. Frequentia vestrum incredibilis, Quirites, contioque tanta, quantam meminisse non videor, et alacritatem mihi summam defendendae rei publicae adfert et spem recuperandae. Quamquam animus mihi quidem numquam defuit, tempora defuerunt, quae simul ac primum aliquid lucis ostendere visa sunt, princeps vestrae libertatis defendendae fui. Quodsi id ante facere conatus essem, nunc facere non possem. Hodierno enim die, Quirites, ne mediocrem rem actam arbitremini, fundamenta iacta sunt reliquarum actionum. Nam est hostis a senatu nondum verbo adpellatus, sed re iam iudicatus
2 Antonius. Nunc vero multo sum erectior, quod vos quoque illum hostem esse tanto consensu tantoque clamore adprobavistis.

Neque enim, Quirites, fieri potest, ut non aut ii sint impii, qui contra consulem exercitus conparaverunt, aut ille hostis, contra quem iure arma sumpta sunt. Hanc igitur dubitationem, quamquam nulla erat, tamen ne qua posset esse, senatus hodierno die sustulit. C. Caesar, qui rem publicam libertatemque vestram suo studio, consilio, patrimonio denique tutatus est et tutatur, maximis senatus
3 laudibus ornatus est. Laudo, laudo vos, Quirites,

[1] Here evidently followed applause. On resuming his speech, C. picks up *laudibus* with *laudo*, and praises the people.

THE FOURTH PHILIPPIC OF M. TULLIUS CICERO AGAINST M. ANTONIUS

I. Your incredible numbers, Romans, and the size—greater than I seem to remember—of this assembly, inspire me both with the greatest eagerness to defend the State and with hope of re-establishing it. Yet it was not that the spirit ever failed me; opportunities failed; and as soon as ever the times seemed to shed some gleam of light, I was the first to defend your liberty. Had I attempted to do so before, I should not be able to do so now; for on this very day, Romans—that you may not deem it a trivial matter which has been accomplished—the foundations have been laid of what remains to be accomplished. For Antonius, though not yet in word so called, has in fact been adjudged by the Senate to be a public enemy. Now, indeed, I am much more encouraged in that you too, with such unanimous applause, have confirmed that title.

For, Romans, the position cannot be otherwise than this: either those are disloyal that have levied armies against a consul, or that man is an enemy against whom arms have rightly been taken up. Doubt on this point then—though there was no doubt—yet the possibility of doubt, the Senate has to day removed. Caius Caesar, who, by his zeal, his policy, and lastly by the contribution of his patrimony, has protected and is protecting the State and your liberty, has been honoured by the Senate with the highest commendation.[1] I commend, I com-

quod gratissimis animis prosequimini nomen clarissimi adulescentis vel pueri potius; sunt enim facta eius immortalitatis, nomen aetatis. Multa memini, multa audivi, multa legi, Quirites; nihil ex omnium saeculorum memoria tale cognovi; qui, cum servitute premeremur, in dies malum cresceret, praesidii nihil haberemus, capitalem et pestiferum a Brundisio tum M. Antoni reditum timeremus, hoc insperatum omnibus consilium, incognitum certe ceperit, ut exercitum invictum ex paternis militibus conficeret Antonique furorem crudelissimis consiliis incitatum a pernicie rei publicae averteret.

4 II. Quis est enim, qui hoc non intellegat, nisi Caesar exercitum paravisset, non sine exitio nostro futurum Antoni reditum fuisse? Ita enim se recipiebat ardens odio vestri, cruentus sanguine civium Romanorum, quos Suessae, quos Brundisii occiderat, ut nihil nisi de pernicie populi Romani cogitaret. Quod autem praesidium erat salutis libertatisque vestrae, si C. Caesaris fortissimorum sui patris militum exercitus non fuisset? Cuius de laudibus et honoribus, qui ei pro divinis et immortalibus meritis divini immortalesque debentur, mihi senatus adsensus paulo ante decrevit ut primo quoque tempore referretur.

Quo decreto quis non perspicit hostem esse Antonium iudicatum? Quem enim possumus appellare eum, contra quem qui exercitus ducunt, iis senatus

mend you, Romans, for greeting with the warmest gratitude the name of a most noble young man, or rather boy; for though his deeds belong to immortality, the name of boy belongs to his age. Much I remember, much have I heard, much, Romans, have I read; no such act have I ever known amid the records of all the ages. When we were being oppressed with slavery, when, day by day, the evil was growing, when we had no protection, when we were then fearing the deadly and pestilent return of Marcus Antonius from Brundisium, he adopted this policy, one unhoped for, at any rate unknown to all, of raising an unbeaten army of his father's soldiers, and turning aside the frenzied Antonius, when spurred on by the most cruel designs, from the destruction of the State.

II. For who does not understand this, that, if Caesar had not levied his army, the return of Antonius would have entailed our ruin? For in such a mind was he coming back, burning with hatred of you, red with the blood of Roman citizens whom he had slain at Suessa, at Brundisium, that he had no thought but for the destruction of the Roman people. And what safeguard was there for your lives and liberty, if Caesar's army of his father's stoutest soldiers had not existed? And with regard to the praises and honours due to him—and divine and immortal honours are due for his divine and immortal services—the Senate has just now decreed on my motion that they be taken into consideration at the earliest possible moment.

Who does not perceive that by that decree Antonius has been adjudged an enemy? for what can we call the man, when the Senate decrees that

arbitratur singulares exquirendos honores? Quid? legio Martia, quae mihi videtur divinitus ab eo deo traxisse nomen, a quo populum Romanum generatum accepimus, non ipsa suis decretis prius quam senatus hostem iudicavit Antonium? Nam, si ille non hostis, hos, qui consulem reliquerunt, hostes necesse est iudicemus. Praeclare et loco, Quirites, reclamatione vestra factum pulcherrimum Martialium conprobavistis; qui se ad senatus auctoritatem, ad libertatem vestram, ad universam rem publicam contulerunt, hostem illum et latronem et parricidam
6 patriae reliquerunt. Nec solum id animose et fortiter, sed considerate etiam sapienterque fecerunt; Albae constiterunt, in urbe opportuna, munita, propinqua, fortissimorum virorum, fidelissimorum civium atque optimorum. Huius Martiae legionis legio quarta imitata virtutem duce L. Egnatuleio, quem senatus merito paulo ante laudavit, C. Caesaris exercitum persecuta est.

III. Quae expectas, M. Antoni, iudicia graviora? Caesar fertur in caelum, qui contra te exercitum conparavit; laudantur exquisitissimis verbis legiones, quae te reliquerunt, quae a te arcessitae sunt, quae essent, si te consulem quam hostem maluisses, tuae; quarum legionum fortissimum verissimumque iudicium confirmat senatus, conprobat universus populus Romanus; nisi forte vos, Quirites, consulem,

special honours should be devised for those that lead armies against him? What? did not the Martian legion (which appears to me to have derived its name by divine consent from that God from whom by tradition the Roman people has sprung), by its own resolution before that of the Senate, adjudge Antonius an enemy? For if he is not an enemy we must certainly adjudge those that have deserted the consul to be enemies. Gloriously and in season, Romans, have you by your repeated shouts approved that most honourable action of the Martians, who have come to maintain the authority of the Senate, your liberties, and the entire State, who have deserted the enemy and brigand and parricide of his fatherland. And it is not only with spirit and courage, but also with deliberation and wisdom they have done so; they stationed themselves at Alba, in a city conveniently placed, fortified, close to us, and full of the bravest men and of the most trusty and loyal citizens. Copying the good conduct of this Martian legion, the fourth legion under the command of Lucius Egnatuleius, whom for his services the Senate has just now commended, has followed the army of Caius Caesar.

III. What severer judgments, Marcus Antonius, are you waiting for? Caesar is exalted to the skies who has levied an army against you; legions are praised in the most generous terms that have abandoned you, that have been summoned by you, that, if you had chosen to be a consul rather than an enemy, would have been yours; and the judgment of those legions, most courageous and true as it is, the Senate ratifies, the whole Roman people approves—unless maybe, you, Romans, adjudge Antonius to be a

7 non hostem iudicatis Antonium. Sic arbitrabar, Quirites, vos iudicare, ut ostenditis. Quid? municipia, colonias, praefecturas num aliter iudicare censetis? Omnes mortales una mente consentiunt omnia arma eorum, qui haec salva velint, contra illam pestem esse capienda. Quid? D. Bruti iudicium, Quirites, quod ex hodierno eius edicto perspicere potuistis, num cui tandem contemnendum videtur? Recte et vere negatis, Quirites. Est enim quasi deorum immortalium beneficio et munere datum rei publicae Brutorum genus et nomen ad libertatem populi Romani vel constituendam vel recipiendam.
8 Quid igitur D. Brutus de M. Antonio iudicavit? Excludit provincia, exercitu obsistit, Galliam totam hortatur ad bellum ipsam sua sponte suoque iudicio excitatam. Si consul Antonius, Brutus hostis; si conservator rei publicae Brutus, hostis Antonius. Num igitur, utrum horum sit, dubitare possumus?

IV. Atque ut vos una mente unaque voce dubitare vos negatis, sic modo decrevit senatus D. Brutum optime de re publica mereri, cum senatus auctoritatem populique Romani libertatem imperiumque defenderet. A quo defenderet? nempe ab hoste;
9 quae est enim alia laudanda defensio? Deinceps laudatur provincia Gallia meritoque ornatur verbis amplissimis ab senatu, quod resistat Antonio. Quem si consulem illa provincia putaret neque eum reciperet, magno scelere se adstringeret; omnes enim

consul, not an enemy. I thought your judgment, Romans, was as you show it to be. What? do you think the boroughs, the colonies, the praefectures, determine otherwise? All living men agree with one mind that every weapon those who wish this our State to be saved possess must be grasped to oppose that pest. What? does the judgment, Romans, of Decimus Brutus, which you could gauge by his edict of to-day, appear now one to be despised? Rightly and truly, Romans, you say No. For it is by the kindness and bounty of the immortal Gods, as it were, that the race and name of Brutus has been bestowed on the State, either to establish or to recover the liberty of the Roman people. What then is the judgment of Decimus Brutus on Marcus Antonius? He shuts him out of his province; with an army he resists him; he exhorts to war all Gaul, already itself roused of its own accord, and by its own judgment. If Antonius is a consul, Brutus is an enemy; if Brutus is the saviour of the State, Antonius is its enemy. Can we then doubt which of these alternatives is true?

IV. And as you with one mind and one voice say you do not doubt, so has the Senate just decreed, that Decimus Brutus deserves excellently of the State in defending the authority of the Senate, and the liberty and empire of the Roman people. Defending from whom? from an enemy of course; for what other defence is worthy of praise? Next, the province of Gaul is commended and justly honoured by the Senate in the most generous terms for resisting Antonius. If that province deemed him a consul, and yet would not receive him, it would involve itself in a great crime; for all pro-

in consulis iure et imperio debent esse provinciae. Negat hoc D. Brutus imperator, consul designatus, natus rei publicae civis, negat Gallia, negat cuncta Italia, negat senatus, negatis vos. Quis illum igitur consulem nisi latrones putant? Quamquam ne ii quidem ipsi, quod locuntur, id sentiunt, nec ab iudicio omnium mortalium, quamvis impii nefariique sint, sicut sunt, dissentire possunt. Sed spes rapiendi atque praedandi obcaecat animos eorum, quos non bonorum donatio, non agrorum adsignatio, non illa infinita hasta satiavit; qui sibi urbem, qui bona et fortunas civium ad praedam proposuerunt; qui, dum hic sit, quod rapiant, quod auferant, nihil
10 sibi defuturum arbitrantur; quibus M. Antonius (o di immortales, avertite et detestamini, quaeso, hoc omen!) urbem se divisurum esse promisit.

Ita vero, Quirites, ut precamini, eveniat, atque huius amentiae poena in ipsum familiamque eius recidat! Quod ita futurum esse confido; iam enim non solum homines, sed etiam deos immortales ad rem publicam conservandam arbitror consensisse. Sive enim prodigiis atque portentis di immortales nobis futura praedicunt, ita sunt aperte pronuntiata, ut et illi poena et nobis libertas adpropinquet, sive tantus consensus omnium sine inpulsu deorum esse non potuit, quid est, quod de voluntate caelestium dubitare possimus?

11 V. Reliquum est, Quirites, ut vos in ista sententia, quam prae vobis fertis, perseveretis. Faciam igitur,

[1] Of the property of the Pompeian party.

vinces ought to be within the jurisdiction and command of the consul. This consulship Decimus Brutus, commander, consul elect, a citizen born to serve the State, denies; Gaul denies it; all Italy denies it; the Senate denies it; you deny it. Who then deem him a consul but brigands? Not that even these very men think as they say; though disloyal and criminal, as they are, yet they cannot dissent from the judgment of all living men. But hope of rapine and plunder blind the minds of men whom no gift of property, no assignments of lands, nor that never-ending auction [1] has sated; men that have set before themselves for plunder the city and the goods and fortunes of its citizens; men that think nothing will fail them provided there be here some subject for rapine, for robbery; men to whom —O ye immortal Gods, avert, I pray, and make harmless this omen!—Marcus Antonius has promised the division of the city.

Yes, Romans, may the issue be according to your prayers, and may the penalty for this man's madness recoil on himself and on his family! I am confident it will, for I think that, not men only, but also the immortal Gods, have agreed together for the preservation of the State. For whether the immortal Gods foretell for us the future by prodigies and portents, these have been declared so openly that both his punishment and our freedom are coming near; or whether such unanimity of all men could not be without the impulse of the Gods, what room have we for doubt as to the will of Heaven?

V. It remains for you, Romans, to persevere in the sentiments which you openly display. I shall therefore act as commanders commonly act when

ut imperatores instructa acie solent, quamquam paratissimos milites ad proeliandum videant, ut eos tamen adhortentur, sic ego vos ardentes et erectos ad libertatem reciperandam cohortabor. Non est vobis, Quirites, cum eo hoste certamen, cum quo aliqua pacis condicio esse possit. Neque enim ille servitutem vestram ut antea, sed iam iratus sanguinem concupivit; nullus ei ludus videtur esse iucundior quam cruor, quam caedes, quam ante
12 oculos trucidatio civium. Non est vobis res, Quirites, cum scelerato homine ac nefario, sed cum immani taetraque belua. Quae quoniam in foveam incidit, obruatur; si enim illim emerserit, nullius supplicii crudelitas erit recusanda. Sed tenetur, premitur, urguetur nunc iis copiis, quas iam habemus, mox iis, quas paucis diebus novi consules comparabunt. Incumbite in causam, Quirites, ut facitis. Numquam maior consensus vester in ulla causa fuit, numquam tam vehementer cum senatu consociati fuistis. Nec mirum; agitur enim, non qua condicione victuri, sed victurine simus an cum supplicio ignominiaque perituri.

13 Quamquam mortem quidem natura omnibus proposuit, crudelitatem mortis et dedecus virtus propulsare solet, quae propria est Romani generis et seminis. Hanc retinete, quaeso, quam vobis tamquam hereditatem maiores vestri reliquerunt. Nam cum alia omnia falsa, incerta sint, caduca, mobilia, virtus est una altissimis defixa radicibus; quae numquam vi ulla labefactari potest, numquam demoveri

the line is in battle array; although they may see their soldiers absolutely prepared for battle, they yet exhort them; so will I exhort you, though you are ardent and eager to recover your liberty. You have, Romans, no contest with an enemy with whom any terms of peace are possible. For it is not, as formerly, for your enslavement, it is for your blood he has in his wrath now become athirst; no sport seems to him more joyful than bloodshed, than massacre, than the butchery of citizens before his eyes. You have not now to deal, Romans, with a man merely guilty and villainous, but with a monstrous and savage beast. Since he has fallen into the pit let him be overwhelmed; for, if he escape out of it, there is no torture, however cruel, we shall be able to evade. But he is being held fast, pressed, harassed, now by the forces we already have; presently he will be so by those the new consuls will in a few days levy. Put your shoulders, Romans, to the cause as you are doing. Never has your unanimity been greater in any cause, never have you been so earnestly associated with the Senate. And no wonder; for the issue is, not on what terms we shall live, but whether we are to live at all, or perish in torture and ignominy.

Nature has indeed appointed death for all men, yet against a death of cruelty and dishonour, valour, the native possession of the Roman race and lineage, ever affords a defence. Hold fast, I beseech you, to that which your ancestors have bequeathed you, as it were an heirloom. For while all things else are false and uncertain, perishable and shifting, valour alone is planted with the deepest roots; by no force can it be shaken or removed from its

loco. Hac virtute maiores vestri primum universam Italiam devicerunt, deinde Karthaginem exciderunt, Numantiam everterunt, potentissimos reges, bellicosissimas gentes in dicionem huius imperii redegerunt.

14 VI. Ac maioribus quidem vestris, Quirites, cum eo hoste res erat, qui haberet rem publicam, curiam, aerarium, consensum et concordiam civium, rationem aliquam, si ita res tulisset, pacis et foederis; hic vester hostis vestram rem publicam oppugnat, ipse habet nullam; senatum, id est orbis terrae consilium, delere gestit, ipse consilium publicum nullum habet; aerarium vestrum exhausit, suum non habet. Nam concordiam civium qui habere potest, nullam cum habet civitatem? pacis vero quae potest esse cum eo
15 ratio, in quo est incredibilis crudelitas, fides nulla?

Est igitur, Quirites, populo Romano victori omnium gentium omne certamen cum percussore, cum latrone, cum Spartaco. Nam quod se similem esse Catilinae gloriari solet, scelere par est illi, industria inferior. Ille cum exercitum nullum habuisset, repente conflavit; hic eum exercitum, quem accepit, amisit. Ut igitur Catilinam diligentia mea, senatus auctoritate, vestro studio et virtute fregistis, sic Antoni nefarium latrocinium vestra cum senatu concordia tanta, quanta numquam fuit, felicitate et virtute exercituum ducumque vestrorum brevi
16 tempore oppressum audietis. Equidem quantum cura, labore, vigiliis, auctoritate, consilio eniti atque

[1] *i.e.* as being *hostis.*
[2] Cf. n. 4, p. 210.

place. By this valour your ancestors first conquered the whole of Italy, then rased Carthage, overthrew Numantia, and reduced to allegiance to this empire kings the most powerful, and nations the most warlike.

VI. And your ancestors, Romans, had to deal with an enemy that possessed a State, a Senate, a treasury, unanimity and concord among its citizens, some principle on which, if the occasion admitted, to found peace and a treaty; this enemy of yours is attacking your State while he himself possesses none; he longs to obliterate the Senate, that is to say, the council of the world, but he himself possesses no public council; he has drained your treasury, he has none of his own. As to "concord among citizens," how can he have it who has no citizenship?[1] But as to peace, what reckoning can there be with a man whose cruelty is incredible, his good faith non-existent?

The conflict therefore, Romans, is wholly between the Roman people, the victor over all nations, and an assassin, a brigand, a Spartacus.[2] For, as for his usual boast that he is like Catiline, he is equal to him in wickedness, but inferior in energy. The one, when he had no army, hurriedly collected one; this other has lost the army he received. As then by my exertions, by the authority of the Senate, and your own zeal and courage, you broke Catiline, so will you hear that the criminal brigandage of Antonius has been in a short time crushed by your unprecedented harmony with the Senate, and by the good fortune and valour of your armies and generals. As for me, so far as by thought, labour, watching, influence, and advice I shall be able to

efficere potero, nihil praetermittam, quod ad libertatem vestram pertinere arbitrabor; neque enim id pro vestris amplissimis in me beneficiis sine scelere facere possum. Hodierno autem die primum referente viro fortissimo vobisque amicissimo, hoc M. Servilio, collegisque eius, ornatissimis viris, optimis civibus, longo intervallo me auctore et principe ad spem libertatis exarsimus.

strive for and effect anything, I will leave nothing undone that I think concerns your liberty; for having regard to your most generous kindnesses towards myself, it is impossible to do so without a crime. But to-day, on the motion of Marcus Servilius here, a most courageous man and your very good friend, and his colleagues, most distinguished men, and most loyal citizens, we have, for the first time after a long interval, with my counsel and at my instance, been fired by the hope of liberty.

INTRODUCTION TO PHILIPPIC V

On the 1st of January, 43 B.C., the position was that Antonius had shut up D. Brutus in Mutina and was closely besieging him, and that Caesar Octavianus was marching to attack Antonius. On that day the new Consuls, Hirtius and Pansa, in the Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus consulted the Senate on the state of public affairs. After having themselves spoken, as Cicero says, in a manly strain, they called upon Calenus to deliver his opinion first, either because he was Pansa's father-in-law, but possibly because, being a strong partisan of Antonius, he would propose moderate counsels in contradistinction to those of Cicero, whose views were well known. His advice was that, before proceeding to the extremity of war, an embassy should be sent to Antonius to command him to raise the siege and submit to the authority of the Senate. This view was supported by L. Piso and some others. Cicero then delivered the fifth Philippic.

He said it was madness to send envoys to a man whom the Senate had on the 20th of December in effect declared an enemy by on that day commending the generals and the veterans who had taken up arms against him; that the question was whether Antonius should be permitted to crush the State. He alluded to the laws Antonius had illegally passed; the armed men with whom he had blocked the Forum; his squandering of public moneys; his forged decrees; the sale of grants of kingdoms, of citizen-

ship, and of exemptions from taxation; the false records of such transactions; his constitution of the courts of law and the introduction of base jurymen; the introduction into the Temple of Concord of bands of brigands; his massacre of the centurions at Brundisium; and his threats of death against a beaten party. Now, Cicero argued, by blockading Mutina, a colony of the Roman people, he was making war, and to send an embassy would delay the war and weaken the universal indignation.

Accordingly he proposed that "a tumult"[1] or state of commotion should be proclaimed, the business of the courts suspended, military garb be assumed, a levy held throughout Italy excepting Gaul, and without benefit of furlough, and that the welfare of the State should be entrusted to the consuls, and they be enjoined "to see that the State suffered no harm."[2]

He also proposed that a vote of thanks should be passed in honour of D. Brutus and Lepidus,[3] and that a gilt equestrian statue to the latter should be erected on the rostra or elsewhere. As to the young Caesar, he proposed that he should formally be given the imperium or military command; should have the rank of propraetor, with a seat in the

[1] For the meaning of this term see n. 1, p. 288.

[2] The decree investing the consuls with extraordinary powers. It was like a proclamation of martial law.

[3] M. Aemilius L., the future triumvir, now Governor of Narbonese Gaul. In 49, on Caesar's departure for Spain, he was left as Praefectus Urbis. He had been thrice Caesar's master of the horse, and in 46 his colleague as consul. The honours now decreed (for which he gave no thanks: *ad Fam.* x. 27) were for persuading Sext. Pompeius in 63 (cf. n. 2, p. 542) to lay down his arms.

Senate; and should be allowed to stand, notwithstanding his age, for the higher offices. And he pledged himself, on Caesar's behalf—a pledge at which the Fates, as they spun the life-threads of the actors in this melancholy drama, must have "somewhat grimly smiled"—that he "would always prove such a citizen as they ought most to wish and desire him to be."

The debate continued till the 4th of January, and the proposals with regard to honours were carried. On the question of the embassy Cicero had a majority on his side (*Phil.* 6. 1), but Salvius the tribune by his veto prevented a vote being taken, and Calenus' motion for an embassy was carried.[1] The envoys were charged to command Antonius to submit to the Senate and people; to abandon the siege of Mutina; and to withdraw his troops out of Gaul to the Italian side of the Rubicon, but not nearer to Rome than 200 miles. They were also instructed to see D. Brutus, and to assure him and his army of the Senate's approval of their zeal.

Cicero says (*ibid.*) that on the fourth day of the debate the Senate, "under the influence of some hope or other, was more lenient." But Appian tells us (3. 51) that, during the adjournment, Antonius' wife, mother, and young son, and his friends, in black garments beset the Senators with cries and supplications, and succeeded in prevailing upon them.

[1] The ambassadors were S. Sulpicius, L. Piso, and L. Philippus, the stepfather of Oct. Caesar.

M. TULLI CICERONIS IN M. ANTONIUM ORATIO PHILIPPICA QUINTA

1 I. Nihil umquam longius his Kalendis Ianuariis mihi visum est, patres conscripti; quod idem intellegebam per hos dies uni cuique vestrum videri. Qui enim bellum cum re publica gerunt, hunc diem non exspectabant; nos autem tum, cum maxime consilio nostro subvenire communi saluti oporteret, in senatum non vocabamur. Sed querellam praeteritorum dierum sustulit oratio consulum, qui ita locuti sunt, ut magis exoptatae Kalendae quam serae esse videantur. Atque ut oratio consulum animum meum erexit spemque attulit non modo salutis conservandae, verum etiam dignitatis pristinae reciperandae, sic me perturbasset eius sententia, qui primus rogatus est, nisi vestrae virtuti constantiaeque confiderem.

2 Hic enim dies vobis, patres conscripti, inluxit, haec potestas data est, ut, quantum virtutis, quantum constantiae, quantum gravitatis in huius ordinis consilio esset, populo Romano declarare possetis. Recordamini, qui dies nudius tertius decimus fuerit, quantus consensus vestrum, quanta virtus, quanta constantia, quantam sitis a populo Romano laudem, quantam gloriam, quantam gratiam consecuti. Atque illo die, patres conscripti, ea constituistis, ut vobis

[1] A. Hirtius and C. Pansa, the consuls for 43 B.C.

[2] Quintus Fufius Calenus, consul 47 B.C., a partisan of Julius Caesar. He afterwards joined Antonius.

THE FIFTH PHILIPPIC OF M. TULLIUS CICERO AGAINST M. ANTONIUS

I. Nothing, Conscript Fathers, has ever seemed to me longer in coming than these Kalends of January; and I understood that during these last days it has also seemed so to each one of you. For those who wage war against the State did not wait for to-day; but we, at a time when it especially behoved us to come to the rescue of the common safety with our counsel, were not summoned to the Senate. But any complaints as to the past have been removed by the speeches of the consuls,[1] for they have spoken in such terms that the Kalends seem not so much to come late as in fulfilment of our prayers. And as the speeches of the consuls have raised my spirits, and brought hope, not merely of preserving our safety but also of restoring our ancient dignity, so the opinion of the member who first was called upon[2] would have disturbed me were I not trusting to your courage and firmness.

For this day has dawned upon you, Conscript Fathers, this opportunity has been given you, to enable you to declare to the Roman people what degree of courage, of firmness, of importance, resides in the counsels of this our order. Recall to mind what a day that was thirteen days ago, how great was your unanimity, your courage, your firmness, how much praise you won from the Roman people, how much glory and gratitude. And on that day, Conscript Fathers, your resolutions were

iam nihil sit integrum nisi aut honesta pax aut bellum necessarium.

3 Pacem vult M. Antonius? arma deponat, roget, deprecetur. Neminem aequiorem reperiet quam me, cui, dum se civibus impiis commendat, inimicus quam amicus esse maluit. Nihil est profecto, quod possit dari bellum gerenti; erit fortasse aliquid, quod concedi possit roganti; legatos vero ad eum mittere, de quo gravissimum et severissimum iudicium nudius tertius decimus feceritis, non iam levitatis est, sed, ut, quod sentio, dicam, dementiae.

II. Primum duces eos laudavistis, qui contra illum bellum privato consilio suscepissent, deinde milites veteranos, qui cum ab Antonio in colonias essent deducti, illius beneficio libertatem populi Romani
4 anteposuerunt. Quid? legio Martia, quid? quarta cur laudatur? Si enim consulem suum reliquerunt, vituperandae sunt, si inimicum rei publicae, iure laudantur. Atqui, cum consules nondum haberetis, decrevistis, ut et de praemiis militum et de honoribus imperatorum primo quoque tempore referretur. Placet eodem tempore praemia constituere eis, qui contra Antonium arma ceperint, et legatos ad Antonium mittere? ut iam pudendum sit honestiora decreta esse legionum quam senatus, siquidem legiones decreverunt senatum defendere contra Antonium, senatus decernit legatos ad Antonium.

[1] Dolabella had gone to Asia Minor on his way to Syria, and Ant. to Cisalpine Gaul, and the consuls for 43 B.C. had not yet assumed their office.

such that you now have no course open to you but either an honourable peace or a necessary war.

Does Marcus Antonius desire peace? Let him lay down his arms; let him ask for peace; let him appeal to our mercy. He will find no man fairer than I, though he preferred, while commending himself to disloyal citizens, to be my enemy rather than my friend. Nothing at all can be granted to a combatant; possibly there will be something to be conceded to a petitioner; but to send envoys to a man on whom thirteen days ago you passed the heaviest and severest judgment is not now a sign of levity, but—if I must give my real opinion—one of madness.

II. First of all you praised those commanders who had on their own private judgment undertaken war against him; in the next place the veteran soldiers, who, although they had been planted by Antonius in colonies, set the liberty of the Roman people before his benefits. What of the Martian legion? What of the fourth? Why is it praised? For if it was their consul they deserted they are to be blamed; if an enemy of the State, they are rightly praised. And yet, although you had as yet no consuls,[1] you decreed that a motion should be submitted at the earliest moment for rewarding the soldiers and honouring their generals. Is it your pleasure at the same time to appoint rewards for those that have taken up arms against Antonius, and also to send envoys to Antonius? so that now one must feel shame that the resolutions of the legions are more honourable than the Senate's, since the legions have resolved to defend the Senate against Antonius and the Senate resolves to send envoys to Antonius!

Utrum hoc est confirmare militum animos an debili-
5 tare virtutem? Hoc dies duodecim profecerunt, ut, quem nemo praeter Cotylam inventus sit qui defenderet, is habeat iam patronos etiam consulares? Qui utinam omnes ante me sententiam rogarentur! (quamquam suspicor, quid dicturi sint quidam eorum, qui post me rogabuntur) facilius contra dicerem, si quid videretur.

Est enim opinio decreturum aliquem Antonio illam ultimam Galliam, quam Plancus obtinet. Quid est aliud omnia ad bellum civile hosti arma largiri, primum nervos belli, pecuniam infinitam, qua nunc eget, deinde equitatum, quantum velit? Equitatum dico? dubitabit, credo, gentis barbaras secum adducere. Hoc qui non videt, excors, qui, cum
6 videt, decernit, impius est. Tu civem sceleratum et perditum Gallorum et Germanorum pecunia, peditatu, equitatu, copiis instrues? Nullae istae excusationes sunt: "Meus amicus est." Sit patriae prius. "Meus cognatus." An potest cognatio propior ulla esse quam patriae, in qua parentes etiam continentur? "Mihi pecuniam tribuit." Cupio videre, qui id audeat dicere. Quid autem agatur, cum aperuero, facile erit statuere, quam sententiam dicatis aut quam sequamini.

III. Agitur, utrum M. Antonio facultas detur opprimendae rei publicae, caedis faciendae bonorum,

[1] Lucius Varius, a friend and emissary of Antonius. Cotyla appears to be a nickname taken from κοτύλη (half-pint). He was an envoy of A. (*Phil.* viii. 8).

Is this a bracing of the soldiers' spirits or a weakening of their courage? Has this been the result of twelve days, that the man for whom no defender was discovered but Cotyla[1] has now as patrons even consulars? I wish all of them were asked their opinions before me, though I suspect what some of them called upon after me will say—I should more easily say in opposition whatever seemed appropriate.

For there is a belief abroad that some one will propose to decree Antonius that further Gaul which Plancus holds. What is this but to lavish on an enemy all the weapons for civil war? first of all, the sinews of war, infinite treasure, which he now needs; in the next place, cavalry, as many as he wishes. Cavalry, do I say? He will shrink, I suppose, from bringing with him whole barbarous nations! He that does not see this is a fool; he that sees it, and proposes it, is disloyal. Will you equip a criminal and abandoned citizen with the treasure, the infantry, the cavalry, all the resources of Gauls and Germans? *Your* excuses[2] are no use: "He is my friend"; let him be his country's first; "He is my relation"; can any relationship be closer than with that fatherland wherein even parents are included? "He has given me money." I long to see the man who dares to say that! But when I have revealed what is the issue, it will be easy for you to determine what opinion to pronounce or which to follow.

III. The issue is whether Marcus Antonius is to be given an opportunity of crushing the State, of massacring loyal men, of portioning out the city,

[2] By *istae* ("those of yours") C. addresses Calenus and the other partisans of Ant.

urbis dividundae,[1] agrorum suis latronibus condonandi, populi Romani servitute opprimendi, an horum ei facere nihil liceat. Dubitate, quid agatis. At non
7 cadunt haec in Antonium. Hoc ne Cotyla quidem dicere auderet. Quid enim in eum non cadit, qui cuius acta se defendere dicit, eius eas leges pervertit, quas maxime laudare poteramus? Ille paludes siccare voluit, hic omnem Italiam moderato homini, L. Antonio, dividendam dedit. Quid? hanc legem populus Romanus accepit, quid? per auspicia ferri potuit? Silet augur verecundus sine collegis de auspiciis. Quamquam illa auspicia non egent interpretatione; Iove enim tonante cum populo agi non esse fas quis ignorat? Tribuni plebi tulerunt de provinciis contra acta C. Caesaris, ille biennium, hi[2] sexennium. Etiam hanc legem populus Romanus accepit? quid? promulgata fuit, quid? non ante lata quam scripta est, quid? non ante factum vidimus,
8 quam futurum quisquam est suspicatus? Ubi lex Caecilia et Didia, ubi promulgatio trinum nundinum, ubi poena recenti lege Iunia et Licinia? Possuntne hae leges esse ratae sine interitu legum reliquarum? Eccui potestas in forum insinuandi fuit? Quae porro illa tonitrua, quae tempestas! ut, si auspicia M. Antonium non moverent, sustinere tamen eum

[1] The Vat. MS. reads (under a later hand) *urbis eruendorum*; other MS. *bonorum eripiendorum, urbis, agrorum.* The text is Halm's.
[2] So Zumpt; *hic* (Halm).

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[1] A thunderstorm during an election was a bad omen, and rendered the proceedings illegal.
[2] The Lex Caecilia Didia (98 B.C.) and the Lex Junia Licinia (62 B.C.) provided for the publication of all proposed laws on three market days.

of making presents of land to his brigands, and of crushing the Roman people with slavery, or whether he is to be allowed to do none of these things. You hesitate what to do. But these things, you will say, do not apply to Antonius. This not even Cotyla would dare to say. For what does not apply to the man who, while he says he is defending the acts of Caesar, overturns those of his laws which we were able especially to commend? Caesar wished to drain the marshes; this man has given that moderate person, Lucius Antonius, the whole of Italy for division. What? has the Roman people accepted this law? What? could it be proposed in the face of the auspices? Our augur is too bashful to interpret the auspices without his colleagues. And yet those auspices need no interpretation; for who does not know that, when Jupiter is thundering, no transaction with the people can legally be carried out?[1] The tribunes made a proposal to the commons on the subject of the provinces contrary to the acts of Caius Caesar; Caesar fixed a two years' tenure, they six. Did the Roman people accept this law too? Again, was notice given of it? Again, was it not proposed before it was drafted? Again, did we not see the thing done before anyone suspected it would be so? Where is the Caecilian and Didian law? where the notice on three market days? where is the penalty according to the recent Junian and Licinian law?[2] Can these laws of yours be in force without the destruction of all other laws? Was any man able to steal into the forum? And what a thunderstorm there was besides! what a tempest! so that, if the auspices did not influence Antonius, it seemed wonderful he could put up with and

ac ferre posse tantam vim tempestatis imbris ac turbinum mirum videretur. Quam legem igitur se augur dicit tulisse non modo tonante Iove, sed prope caelesti clamore prohibente, hanc dubitabit contra
9 auspicia latam confiteri? Quid? quod cum eo collega tulit, quem ipse fecit sua nuntiatione vitiosum, nihilne ad auspicia bonus augur pertinere arbitratus est?

IV. Sed auspiciorum nos fortasse erimus interpretes, qui sumus eius collegae; num ergo etiam armorum interpretes quaerimus? Primum omnes fori aditus ita saepti, ut, etiamsi nemo obstaret armatus, tamen nisi saeptis revolsis introiri in forum nullo modo posset; sic vero erant disposita praesidia, ut, quo modo hostium aditus urbe prohibentur castellis et operibus, ita ab ingressione fori populum
10 tribunosque plebi propulsari videres. Quibus de causis eas leges, quas M. Antonius tulisse dicitur, omnes censeo per vim et contra auspicia latas iisque legibus populum non teneri. Si quam legem de actis Caesaris confirmandis deve dictatura in perpetuum tollenda deve coloniis in agros deducendis tulisse M. Antonius dicitur, easdem leges de integro, ut populum teneant, salvis auspiciis ferri placet. Quamvis enim res bonas vitiose per vimque tulerit, tamen eae leges non sunt habendae, omnisque audacia gladiatoris amentis auctoritate nostra repudianda est.

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[1] Dolabella: cf. *Phil.* ii. 33.

endure such violence of storm, rain, and tornado. When, therefore, the augur says he proposed this law, not only while Jupiter was thundering, but almost in the face of the uproar of Heavenly prohibition, will he hesitate to confess it was proposed in defiance of the auspices? Again, did our good augur think it was no concern of the auspices that he proposed the law jointly with a colleague[1] whose appointment he himself had rendered defective by his report?

IV. But of the auspices we shall possibly be interpreters, who are his colleagues. Are we on that account also to search for interpreters of his arms? Firstly, all the approaches of the forum were so barred up that, even if no man-at-arms stopped the way, there was no getting anyhow into the forum except by pulling down the barriers; in fact the guards were so placed that—as an enemy's entry into a city is prevented by forts and works—so you might observe the people and the tribunes of the commons thrust back from entering the forum. For these reasons I am of opinion that those laws which Antonius is said to have carried were all carried by violence and contrary to the auspices, and that by those laws the people is not bound. If Marcus Antonius is said to have carried any law for the confirmation of Caesar's acts, or for the perpetual abolition of the dictatorship, or for founding colonies on lands, the Senate is pleased that those same laws should be carried afresh subject to the auspices, so as to bind the people, for, although he carried irregularly and by violence good laws, yet they should not be regarded as laws, and all the audacity of a frenzied gladiator must be repudiated by our authority.

11 Illa vero dissipatio pecuniae publicae ferenda nullo modo est, per quam sestertium septiens miliens falsis perscriptionibus donationibusque avertit, ut portenti simile videatur tantam pecuniam populi Romani tam brevi tempore perire potuisse. Quid? illi immanes quaestus ferendine, quos M. Antoni tota[1] exhausit domus? Decreta falsa vendebat, regna, civitates, immunitates in aes accepta pecunia iubebat incidi. Haec se ex commentariis C. Caesaris, quorum ipse auctor erat, agere dicebat. Calebant in interiore aedium parte totius rei publicae nundinae; mulier sibi felicior quam viris auctionem provinciarum regnorumque faciebat; restituebantur exules quasi lege sine lege; quae nisi auctoritate senatus rescinduntur, quoniam ingressi in spem rei publicae recuperandae sumus, imago nulla liberae civitatis relinquetur.

12 Neque solum commentariis commenticiis chirographisque venalibus innumerabilis pecunia congesta in illam domum est, cum, quae vendebat Antonius, ea se ex actis Caesaris agere diceret, sed senatus etiam consulta pecunia accepta falsa referebat; syngraphae obsignabantur, senatus consulta numquam facta ad aerarium deferebantur. Huius turpitudinis testes erant etiam exterae nationes. Foedera interea facta, regna data, populi provinciaeque liberatae, ipsarumque rerum falsae tabulae

[1] v. l. *sola*; cf. *una* below.

[1] Each of her two previous husbands, P. Clodius and C. Curio, came to a violent end.

But that squandering of public money is by no means to be borne whereby he embezzled seven hundred million sesterces by means of false entries and by donations, so that it seems like a miracle that so much treasure of the Roman people could in so short a time have disappeared. Again, are those monstrous profits to be put up with which the whole household of Marcus Antonius has swallowed? He sold forged decrees, and for a bribe commanded that grants of kingdoms, states, and immunities from taxation should be inscribed on brass. These things he asserted he was doing according to the note-books of Caius Caesar, of which he was himself the author. There was a lively traffic in every interest of the State in the inner part of the house; his wife, more lucky for herself than for her husbands,[1] was putting up to auction provinces and kingdoms; exiles were being restored in guise of law but without law; and if these things are not rescinded by the authority of the Senate, now we have entered upon the hope of re-establishing the State, no semblance of a free community will be left to us.

And not by falsified note-books alone, and by the sale of memoranda, has a countless sum of money been accumulated in that house, since Antonius asserted that in his sales he was acting according to Caesar's "acts"; but he even recorded for a bribe forged decrees of the Senate; contracts were being sealed; decrees of the Senate never made were entered at the Treasury. Of this villainy even foreign nations were witness. Treaties were in the meantime made; kingdoms were bestowed; peoples and provinces freed from tribute; and of these very things false memorials were posted all over the

gemente populo Romano toto Capitolio figebantur. Quibus rebus tanta pecunia una in domo coacervata est, ut, si hoc genus pecuniae in aerarium redigatur,[1] non sit pecunia rei publicae defutura.

V. Legem etiam iudiciariam tulit homo castus atque integer iudiciorum et iuris auctor. In quo nos fefellit. Antesignanos et manipulares et Alaudas iudices se constituisse dicebat; at ille legit aleatores, legit exules, legit Graecos. O consessum iudicum praeclarum, O dignitatem consilii admirandam!
13 Avet animus apud consilium illud pro reo dicere. Cydam Cretensem, portentum insulae, hominem audacissimum et perditissimum. Sed fac non esse; num Latine scit? num est ex iudicum genere et forma? num, quod maximum est, leges nostras moresve novit, num denique homines? est enim Creta vobis notior quam Roma Cydae; dilectus autem et notatio iudicum etiam in nostris civibus haberi solet; Gortynium vero iudicem quis novit aut quis nosse potuit? Nam Lysiaden Atheniensem plerique novimus; est enim Phaedri, philosophi nobilis, filius, homo praeterea festivus, ut ei cum Curio consessore eodemque conlusore facillume possit
14 convenire. Quaero igitur: Si Lysiades citatus iudex non responderit excuseturque Areopagites esse nec debere eodem tempore Romae et Athenis res

[1] *Hoc genus pene in unum redigatur* (Vat. MS.) Other MSS. omit *pene*. Conington suggests *hoc gen. omne in unum red.* (*in unum* = to one denomination of coin).

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[1] *i.e.* raised by the methods above described.

[2] As to these, cf. n. 1, p. 38. C. goes on to show that A. has not only appointed jurymen who afford no guarantee of integrity, but also actual reprobates and foreigners. He proceeds to criticise them individually.

Capitol amid the groans of the Roman people. By these means such an amount of money was heaped up in a single house that, if this sort[1] of money were brought into the Treasury, the State would never lack money.

V. He also proposed a judicature law, this chaste and upright fellow and supporter of the courts and of the law. In this he deceived us. He said he had appointed as jurymen colour-sergeants, and privates, and soldiers of The Larks;[2] but he has appointed gamblers, appointed exiles, appointed Greeks. What an eminent bench of jurymen! what a wonderfully dignified court! My heart yearns to plead for a defendant in that court! There is Cydas from Crete, the island's prodigy, a most audacious and abandoned fellow. But assume he is not so: does he know Latin? is he of the type and fashion of our jurymen? what is most important, does he know our laws or customs? in short, does he know our men? for Crete is better known to you than Rome to Cydas; and even among our own citizens some selection and enquiry as to jurymen is usually made; but who knows, or could know, a juryman from Gortyna? Now Lysiades of Athens most of us know; for he is the son of Phaedrus, a noted philosopher; he is besides a cheerful man, so that he can very easily concur with Curius, his assessor and fellow-gambler. I ask then, if Lysiades, when summoned as juryman, does not answer to his name, and excuses himself as being a member of the Areopagus, and not bound to act as juryman at the same time at Rome and at Athens, will the presi-

iudicare, accipietne excusationem is, qui quaestioni praeerit, Graeculi iudicis modo palliati, modo togati? an Atheniensium antiquissimas leges negleget? Qui porro ille consessus, di boni! Cretensis iudex, isque nequissimus. Quem ad modum ad hunc reus alleget, quo modo accedat? Dura natio est. At Athenienses misericordes. Puto ne Curium quidem esse crudelem, qui periculum fortunae cotidie facit. Sunt item lecti iudices, qui fortasse excusabuntur; habent enim legitimam excusationem exilii causa solum
15 vertisse nec esse postea restitutos. Hos ille demens iudices legisset, horum nomina ad aerarium detulisset, his magnam partem rei publicae credidisset, si ullam speciem rei publicae cogitavisset?

VI. Atque ego de notis iudicibus dixi; quos minus nostis, nolui nominare; saltatores, citharistas, totum denique comissationis Antonianae chorum in tertiam decuriam iudicum scitote esse coniectum. Em causam, cur lex tam egregia tamque praeclara maximo imbri, tempestate, ventis, procellis, turbinibus, inter fulmina et tonitrua ferretur, ut eos iudices haberemus, quos hospites habere nemo velit. Scelerum magnitudo, conscientia maleficiorum, direptio eius pecuniae, cuius ratio in aede Opis confecta est, hanc tertiam decuriam excogitavit; nec ante turpes iudices quaesiti, quam honestis

dent of the Court accept the excuse of a Greekling juryman, wearing now a Greek blanket and now a toga? or will he disregard the most ancient laws of the Athenians? Moreover, what a bench—Good Heavens! a Cretan juryman, and he the worst of Cretans! How is a defendant to choose counsel to address this man? how is he to approach him? It is a hard nation. Oh, but the Athenians are merciful! I think that not even Curius, who every day risks his fortune, is cruel. There are also jurymen chosen who perhaps will be excused; for they have the lawful excuse that they changed their domicile because of exile, and have not since been recalled. Are these the jurymen that madman would have chosen, and entered their names at the Treasury; these the men to whom he would have entrusted a great portion of the State if he had thought that any semblance of the State remained?

VI. And I have spoken of jurymen that are known; I was unwilling to mention those you know less; dancers, harp-players, in a word the whole gang of the Antonian revel, you must know, have been pitchforked into the third panel of jurymen. Here you have the reason why a law so excellent and so splendid was proposed in the midst of a downpour of rain, in a tempest of wind, storm, and tornadoes, amid lightning and thunder: it was that we should have men as jurymen whom no one would willingly have as guests. It was the greatness of his crimes, his consciousness of ill deeds, the plunder of that money the account of which was kept in the Temple of Ops, that has invented this third panel; base jurymen were not sought for till the exculpation of the guilty at the hands of honest jurymen was

16 iudicibus nocentium salus desperata est. Sed illud os, illam impuritatem caeni fuisse, ut hos iudices legere auderet! quorum lectione duplex imprimeretur rei publicae dedecus, unum, quod tam turpes iudices essent, alterum, quod patefactum cognitumque esset, quam multos in civitate turpes haberemus.

Hanc ergo et reliquas eius modi leges, etiamsi sine vi salvis auspiciis essent rogatae, censerem tamen abrogandas; nunc vero cur abrogandas censeam, quas iudico non rogatas?

17 An illa non gravissimis ignominiis monimentisque huius ordinis ad posteritatis memoriam sunt notanda, quod unus M. Antonius in hac urbe post conditam urbem palam secum habuerit armatos? quod neque reges nostri fecerunt neque ii, qui regibus exactis regnum occupare voluerunt. Cinnam memini, vidi Sullam, modo Caesarem; hi enim tres post civitatem a L. Bruto liberatam plus potuerunt quam universa res publica. Non possum adfirmare nullis telis eos
18 stipatos fuisse, hoc dico: nec multis et occultis. At hanc pestem agmen armatorum sequebatur; Cassius, Mustela, Tiro gladios ostentantes sui similes greges ducebant per forum; certum agminis locum tenebant barbari sagittarii. Cum autem erat ventum ad aedem Concordiae, gradus conplebantur, lecticae conlocabantur, non quo ille scuta occulta esse vellet, sed ne familiares, si scuta ipsi ferrent, laborarent.

[1] Who expelled King Tarquin and founded the Republic.

despaired of. But to think of the impudence, the foul scandal of his daring to choose these men as jurymen, men by whose selection a double disgrace was branded on the State; one, that such base men were jurymen; the other, that it was revealed and became known how many base scoundrels we had in the community.

This law, then, and the remaining laws of that stamp, even if they had been passed without violence and subject to the auspices, I should vote should be repealed; but, as the case stands, why should I vote for the repeal of laws which I decide were not passed at all?

As a memorial too for posterity, must we not stamp with a record of the deepest ignominy this order can inflict the fact that Marcus Antonius alone in this city since the founding of the city had openly with him an armed guard; a thing neither our kings ever did, nor those that after the expulsion of the kings sought to seize kingly power? I remember Cinna; I have seen Sulla, and but lately Caesar; for these three possessed more power since the community was made free by Lucius Brutus[1] than the whole State. I cannot affirm they were surrounded by no weapons: this I assert—those weapons were not many, and were concealed. But an array of men-at-arms used to attend this pest; Cassius, Mustela, Tiro, displaying their swords, led through the forum gangs like themselves; barbarian archers marched in regular column. And when they reached the Temple of Concord the steps were packed, the litters were set down; not that he wished the shields should be hidden; but that his friends should not be fatigued by carrying them themselves.

VII. Illud vero taeterrimum non modo aspectu, sed etiam auditu, in cella Concordiae conlocari armatos, latrones, sicarios, de templo carcerem fieri, opertis valvis Concordiae, cum inter subsellia senatus versarentur latrones, patres conscriptos sententias
19 dicere. Huc nisi venirem Kalendis Septembribus, etiam fabros se missurum et domum meam disturbaturum esse dixit. Magna res, credo, agebatur; de supplicatione referebat. Veni postridie, ipse non venit. Locutus sum de re publica minus equidem libere, quam mea consuetudo, liberius tamen, quam periculi minae postulabant. At ille homo vehemens et violentus, qui hanc consuetudinem libere dicendi excluderet (fecerat enim hoc idem maxima cum laude L. Piso triginta diebus ante), inimicitias mihi denuntiavit, adesse in senatum iussit a. d. XIII Kalendas Octobres. Ipse interea septemdecim dies de me in Tiburtino Scipionis declamitavit sitim quaerens; haec enim ei causa esse declamandi solet.
20 Cum is dies, quo me adesse iusserat, venisset, tum vero agmine quadrato in aedem Concordiae venit atque in me apsentem orationem ex ore impurissimo evomuit. Quo die si per amicos mihi cupienti in senatum venire licuisset, caedis initium fecisset a me (sic enim statuerat), cum autem semel gladium scelere imbuisset, nulla res ei finem caedendi nisi defatigatio et satietas attulisset. Etenim aderat Lucius frater, gladiator Asiaticus, qui myrmillo

[1] The first Philippic, delivered on the 2nd of Sept.

VII. And the most infamous thing of all, not only to see, but even to hear of, is that armed men, brigands, assassins, were stationed in the shrine of Concord; the temple became a prison; when the doors of Concord were closed Conscript Fathers gave their votes while brigands were moving about amid the benches. And if I did not come here on the Kalends of September, he even said he would send workmen, and would break my house up. An important debate was toward, I suppose; he moved for a public thanksgiving. I came the day after: he himself did not come. I spoke[1] on the condition of the State, no doubt less freely than my wont, but more freely than his threats of danger warranted. But he, with a vehemence and violence meant to preclude our present habit of free speech—a freedom Lucius Piso had used with the utmost credit thirty days before—threatened me with his enmity, and bade me attend in the Senate on the nineteenth of September. He himself in the meantime for seventeen days declaimed a good deal against me in Scipio's villa at Tibur to provoke a thirst; for this is his usual reason for declamation. When the day on which he had ordered me to attend had arrived, he then came in battle-array into the Temple of Concord, and in my absence vomited a speech against me from that foulest of mouths. On that day, if my friends had allowed me to come to the Senate, as I wished, he would have begun his massacre with me; for so he had resolved. And, if he had once fleshed his sword in crime, nothing would have made an end of his slaughtering but weariness and satiety; for his brother Lucius was present, that Asiatic gladiator, who had fought at

Mylasis depugnarat; sanguinem nostrum sitiebat, suum in illa gladiatoria pugna multum profuderat. Hic pecunias vestras aestimabat, possessiones notabat et urbanas et rusticas; huius mendicitas aviditate coniuncta in fortunas nostras imminebat; dividebat agros, quibus et quos volebat; nullus aditus erat privato, nulla aequitatis deprecatio; tantum quisque habebat possessor, quantum reliquerat divisor
21 Antonius. Quae quamquam, si leges irritas feceritis, rata esse non possunt, tamen separatim suo nomine notanda censeo iudicandumque nullos septemviros fuisse, nihil placere ratum esse, quod ab iis actum diceretur.

VIII. M. vero Antonium quis est qui civem possit iudicare potius quam taeterrimum et crudelissimum hostem, qui pro aede Castoris sedens audiente populo Romano dixerit nisi victorem victurum neminem? Num putatis, patres conscripti, dixisse eum minacius quam facturum fuisse? Quid vero? quod in contione dicere ausus est se, cum magistratu abisset, ad urbem futurum cum exercitu, introiturum quotienscumque vellet, quid erat aliud nisi denuntiare populo Romano servitutem? Quod autem
22 eius iter Brundisium, quae festinatio, quae spes, nisi ad urbem [1] vel in urbem potius exercitum maximum

[1] So the Vat. MS. Some MSS. have *nisi ut*, an unusual construction after *spes*.

[1] A gladiator armed like a Gaul, with a helmet having a fish for a crest. He usually fought with a Thracian (so called), or with the net-caster (*retiarius*). See *Phil.* vi. 5.

[2] As to this, see n. 1, p. 328 and *Phil.* xi. 6. 13.

Mylasa as a myrmillo; [1] he was thirsting for our blood; much of his own he had poured forth in that gladiatorial encounter. This man was estimating your property; he was making a note of possessions, both urban and rural; this man's beggary, joined with greed, was threatening our fortunes; he was dividing up lands, to whom and where he pleased; there were no means of access to him for a private citizen, no plea for equity was possible; so much only each owner possessed as Antonius had left him in the division. Although these things cannot stand if you make void his laws, yet I think they should be individually and specifically noticed, and that we should decide that the septemvirate [2] is null and void, and that it is your pleasure that nothing should stand that was said to have been done by those men.

VIII. But as to Marcus Antonius, who can consider him a citizen, rather than a most savage and cruel enemy, when he, while sitting in front of the Temple of Castor, in the hearing of the Roman people, said that, except of the victors, no man should be left alive? Do you think, Conscript Fathers, that his words were more threatening than would have been his deeds? But what of the fact that he dared to say at a public meeting that, when he had laid down his office, he would be present close to the city with an army, and would enter it as often as he pleased? [3] What did this mean but a threat to the Roman people of slavery? And what meant his journey to Brundisium, that haste of his? what was his hope if he did not bring to, or rather into, the city a huge army?

[3] It was illegal for a commander at the head of an army, unless he surrendered his *imperium*, or military jurisdiction, to enter Rome, except on the day of his triumph.

adduceret? Qui autem dilectus centurionum, quae effrenatio impotentis animi! Cum eius promissis legiones fortissimae reclamassent, domum ad se venire iussit centuriones, quos bene sentire de re publica cognoverat, eosque ante pedes suos uxorisque suae, quam secum gravis imperator ad exercitum duxerat, iugulari coëgit. Quo animo hunc futurum fuisse censetis in nos, quos oderat, cum in eos, quos numquam viderat, tam crudelis fuisset, et quam avidum in pecuniis locupletium, qui pauperum sanguinem concupisset? quorum ipsorum bona, quantacumque erant, statim suis comitibus compotoribusque discripsit.

23 Atque ille furens infesta iam patriae signa a Brundisio inferebat, cum C. Caesar deorum immortalium beneficio, divina animi, ingenii, consilii magnitudine, quamquam sua sponte eximiaque virtute, tamen adprobatione auctoritatis meae colonias patrias adiit, veteranos milites convocavit, paucis diebus exercitum fecit, incitatos latronum impetus retardavit. Postea vero quam legio Martia ducem praestantissimum vidit, nihil egit aliud, nisi ut aliquando liberi essemus; quam est imitata quarta legio.

IX. Quo ille nuntio audito cum senatum vocasset adhibuissetque consularem, qui sua sententia C.
24 Caesarem hostem iudicaret, repente concidit. Post autem neque sacrificiis sollemnibus factis neque votis nuncupatis non profectus est, sed profugit

[1] Octavianus Caesar. [2] Cf. n. 1, p. 200.

And what a gathering was that of the centurions! what an unbridled, unconquerable temper! When the legions had with great bravery repudiated his promises with shouts, he ordered those centurions to attend at his house whom he had recognized were well affected to the State, and caused them to be murdered before his feet, and those of his wife whom the august general had brought with him to the army. What do you think would have been his temper towards us whom he hated, when toward those he had never seen he had been so cruel? and what would be his greediness for the money of rich men, when he coveted the blood of the poor; whose goods, such as they were, he at once distributed amongst his fellows and boon companions?

And that madman was already advancing from Brundisium hostile standards against his country when Caius Caesar, by the favour of the immortal Gods, with a heaven-given greatness of spirit, of intellect, and of judgment, of his own accord no doubt and by his own rare virtue, yet with the warranty of my authority, entered the colonies founded by his father, called together the veteran soldiers, in a few days founded an army, and stayed the headlong rush of the brigand. And after the Martian legion saw this most excellent commander, it had no other object than that we should at length be free; and the fourth followed its example.

IX. When he had heard the news, although he had summoned the Senate, and put up a consular to declare his opinion that Caius Caesar [1] was a public enemy, he suddenly succumbed. But afterwards, without making the accustomed sacrifices, with no solemn vows,[2] he did not set out, he fled away in his general's

paludatus. At quo? In provinciam firmissimorum et fortissimorum[1] civium, qui illum, ne si ita quidem venisset, ut nullum bellum inferret, ferre potuissent impotentem, iracundum, contumeliosum, superbum, semper poscentem, semper rapientem, semper ebrium. At ille, cuius ne pacatam quidem nequitiam quisquam ferre posset, bellum intulit provinciae Galliae, circumsedet Mutinam, firmissimam et splendidissimam populi Romani coloniam, oppugnat D. Brutum imperatorem, consulem designatum, civem
25 non sibi, sed nobis et rei publicae natum. Ergo Hannibal hostis, civis Antonius? Quid ille fecit hostiliter, quod hic non aut fecerit aut faciat aut moliatur et cogitet? Totum iter Antoniorum quid habuit nisi depopulationes, vastationes, caedes, rapinas? quas non faciebat Hannibal, quia multa ad usum suum reservabat, at hi, qui in horam viverent, non modo de fortunis et de bonis civium, sed ne de utilitate quidem sua cogitaverunt.

Ad hunc, di boni! legatos mitti placet? Norunt isti homines formam rei publicae, iura belli, exempla maiorum, cogitant, quid populi Romani maiestas, quid senatus severitas postulet? Legatos decernis? Si, ut deprecere, contemnet, si, ut imperes, non audiet; denique, quamvis severa legatis mandata dederimus, nomen ipsum legatorum hunc, quem videmus, populi Romani restinguet ardorem, municipiorum atque Italiae franget animos. Ut omittam

[1] These two words are added by a later hand in the Vat. MS., and may be a gloss.

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[1] See n. 3, p. 214.
[2] C. here addresses Calenus.

cloak.[1] But whither? Into a province inhabited by most steadfast and brave citizens, who could not have borne with him even if he had not come with the intention of waging war, ungovernable as he was, passionate, insulting, arrogant, always grasping, always pillaging, always drunk. But he, whose iniquity even in peace no man could bear, has made war on the province of Gaul; he is besieging Mutina, a most steadfast and splendid colony of the Roman people; he is attacking Decimus Brutus, a general, a consul elect, a citizen born to serve, not himself, but us and the State. Is Hannibal then an enemy, Antonius a citizen? What did he do as an enemy that this man has not either done, or is doing, or striving for and designing? The whole journey of the Antoniuses—what did it consist of but depopulation, devastation, massacre, rapine? Hannibal was not guilty of these: he kept much for his own use; but these men, who lived only for the hour, have not given a thought, I do not say to the fortunes and the goods of citizens, but even to their own advantage.

Is it to this man, good Heavens! we are pleased to send envoys? Do those friends of yours[2] know the constitution of the State, the laws of war, the precedents of our ancestors? do they consider what the majesty of the Roman people, the gravity of the Senate calls for? Do you propose an embassy? If it is to plead to him, he will despise you: if to command him, he will not listen; in a word, however stern the mandates we give the envoys, the very name of envoys will quench this ardour we now perceive in the Roman people, and will break the spirit of the boroughs and of Italy. To pass over

haec, quae magna sunt, certe ista legatio moram et
26 tarditatem adferet bello. Quamvis dicant, quod
quosdam audio dicturos: "Legati proficiscantur;
bellum nihilo minus paretur," tamen legatorum no-
men ipsum et animos hominum et belli celeritatem
morabitur.

X. Minimis momentis, patres conscripti, maximae
inclinationes temporum fiunt cum in omni casu rei
publicae, tum in bello, et maxime civili, quod
opinione plerumque et fama gubernatur. Nemo
quaeret, quibus cum mandatis legatos miserimus;
nomen ipsum legationis ultro missae timoris esse
signum videbitur. Recedat a Mutina, desinat op-
pugnare Brutum, decedat ex Gallia; non est
27 verbis rogandus, cogendus est armis. Non enim
ad Hannibalem mittimus, ut a Sagunto recedat, ad
quem miserat olim senatus P. Valerium Flaccum
et Q. Baebium Tampilum (qui, si Hannibal non
pareret, Karthaginem ire iussi sunt; nostros quo
iubemus ire, si non paruerit Antonius?); ad nostrum
civem mittimus, ne imperatorem, ne coloniam
populi Romani oppugnet. Itane vero? hoc per
legatos rogandum est? Quid interest, per deos
immortales! utrum hanc urbem oppugnet an huius
urbis propugnaculum, coloniam populi Romani prae-
sidii causa conlocatam? Belli Punici secundi, quod
contra maiores nostros Hannibal gessit, causa fuit
Sagunti oppugnatio. Recte ad eum legati missi;

these considerations, which are grave, assuredly that embassy will bring delay and a prolongation of the war. However much they say, as I hear certain persons will say: "Let the envoys start; none the less the war may be prepared for," yet the very name of envoys will damp both the spirits of men, and the swift conduct of the war.

X. By the most trivial impulses, Conscript Fathers, in critical times the scale is turned most completely, not only in all the accidents of public affairs, but principally in war, and most of all in civil war, which as a rule is governed by opinion and rumour. No one will ask with what mandates we sent envoys: the very name of embassy, and that one sent unsolicited, will seem a token of fear. Let him retreat from Mutina, let him cease to attack Brutus, let him depart out of Gaul: he should not be requested by words, he should be compelled by arms. For we are not sending to Hannibal to command him to retreat from Saguntum, as the Senate sent to him in old times Publius Valerius Flaccus and Quintus Baebius Tampilus (who were ordered, if Hannibal did not obey, to proceed to Carthage—where shall we order our ambassadors to go if Antonius does not obey?): we are sending to our fellow-citizen to bid him not to attack a general and a colony of the Roman people. Is that in truth so? is this what we must ask through envoys? What difference is there, ye immortal Gods! whether he is attacking this city or an outer bastion of this city, a colony planted for the protection of the Roman people? The cause of the second Punic war which Hannibal waged against our ancestors was the blockade of Saguntum. Rightly were ambassadors sent to him;

mittebantur ad Poenum, mittebantur pro Hannibalis hostibus nostris sociis. Quid simile tandem? Nos ad civem mittimus, ne imperatorem populi Romani, ne exercitum, ne coloniam circumsedeat, ne oppugnet, ne agros depopuletur, ne sit hostis?

28 XI. Age, si paruerit, hoc cive uti aut volumus aut possumus? Ante diem XIII Kalendas Ianuarias decretis vestris eum concidistis, constituistis, ut haec ad vos Kalendis Ianuariis referrentur, quae referri videtis, de honoribus et praemiis bene de re publica meritorum et merentium; quorum principem iudicastis eum, qui fuit, C. Caesarem, qui M. Antoni impetus nefarios ab urbe in Galliam avertit; tum milites veteranos, qui primi Caesarem secuti sunt, atque illas caelestes divinasque legiones, Martiam et quartam, comprobastis, quibus, cum consulem suum non modo reliquissent, sed bello etiam persequerentur, honores et praemia spopondistis; eodemque die D. Bruti, praestantissimi civis, edicto adlato atque proposito factum eius conlaudastis, quodque ille bellum privato consilio susceperat, id vos auctoritate publica comprobastis. Quid igitur illo die aliud egistis, nisi ut hostem iudicaretis Antonium?

29 His vestris decretis aut ille vos aequo animo adspicere poterit, aut vos illum sine dolore summo videbitis? Exclusit illum a re publica, distraxit, segregavit non

[1] When the third Philippic was spoken.
[2] As set out in *Phil.* iii. 15.

they were sent to a Carthaginian, they were sent in defence of Hannibal's enemies, our allies. What analogy is there, pray? Are we sending to a fellow-citizen to bid him cease from besieging, from attacking a general, an army, a colony of the Roman people, from wasting its territory, from being our enemy?

XI. Come, suppose he obeys: have we the wish or the power to treat him as a citizen? On the 20th of December[1] by your decrees you cut him to pieces; you resolved that this motion you see made to-day should be made on the Kalends of January, concerning the rewards to be paid to those that have deserved, and to-day deserve, well of the State, of whom you adjudged him the foremost who was indeed so—Caius Caesar, who diverted the nefarious attacks of Marcus Antonius from the city into Gaul. In the next place you commended the veteran soldiers who had been the first to follow Caesar, and especially those Heaven-sent and God-inspired legions, the Martian and the Fourth, to whom, because they had, not merely deserted their consul, but were even attacking him in war, you promised honours and rewards. And on the same day, when an edict of that most excellent citizen Decimus Brutus had been brought and set before you, you praised what he had done; and the war he had undertaken on his private judgment you approved with your public authority. What other object then had you on that day but to adjudge Antonius a public enemy? After these your decrees[2] will either he be able to look you in the face with equanimity, or you to see him without the greatest indignation? He has been shut out, dragged, dissociated from the State, not

solum scelus ipsius, sed etiam, ut mihi videtur, fortuna quaedam rei publicae.

Qui si legatis paruerit Romamque redierit, num umquam perditis civibus vexillum, quo concurrant, defuturum putatis? Sed hoc minus vereor; sunt alia, quae magis timeam et cogitem. Numquam parebit ille legatis. Novi hominis insaniam, adrogantiam, novi perdita consilia amicorum, quibus ille
30 est deditus. Lucius quidem frater eius, utpote qui peregre depugnarit, familiam ducit. Sit per se ipse sanus, quod numquam erit; per hos esse ei tamen non licebit. Teretur interea tempus, belli apparatus refrigescent. Unde est adhuc bellum tractum nisi ex retardatione et mora? Ut primum post discessum latronis vel potius desperatam fugam libere senatus haberi potuit, semper flagitavi, ut convocaremur. Quo die primum convocati sumus, cum designati consules non adessent, ieci sententia mea maximo vestro consensu fundamenta rei publicae serius omnino, quam decuit (nec enim ante potui); sed tamen, si ex eo tempore dies nullus intermissus esset, bellum profecto nullum haberemus. Omne malum
31 nascens facile opprimitur, inveteratum fit plerumque robustius. Sed tum expectabantur Kalendae Ianuariae, fortasse non recte.

XII. Verum praeterita omittamus; etiamne hanc moram adferemus,[1] dum proficiscantur legati, dum revertantur? quorum expectatio dubitationem belli adfert; bello autem dubio quod potest studium esse dilectus?

[1] This word is written by a later hand in the margin of the Vat. MS. It is adopted by Kayser, but, as Halm shows, is not wanted.

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[1] On the 20th Dec., the date of the third Philippic.

only by his own crime, but also, as it seems to me, by some good fortune of the State.

If he shall obey the ambassadors and return to Rome, do you think reprobate citizens will ever lack a standard they can rally to? But this I fear less: there are other things I dread and consider more. He will never obey the envoys. I know the fellow's madness and arrogance; I know the profligate counsels of the friends to whom he is devoted. Lucius his brother, as being one that fought abroad, heads the gang. Grant that Antonius is himself sane—and he never will be—yet these men will not allow him to be so. Time in the meantime will be wasted; the preparations for war will cool. How has the war so far been protracted but by slowness and delay? From the first moment after the brigand's defection, or rather desperate flight, when a free Senate could be held, I have always demanded we should be called together. On the day we were first assembled,[1] as the consuls elect were not present, I by my opinion, and with the fullest assent on your part, laid the foundations of the State, altogether later than should have been—I could not do so before—but if from that time no day had been lost we should now be having no war at all. Every evil is easily crushed at its birth; become inveterate it as a rule gathers strength. But then the Kalends of January were being waited for: perhaps not wisely.

XII. But let us leave out the past. Shall we add this delay too till the envoys set out? till they return? Waiting for them will bring doubt regarding the war; and if war be doubtful, what zeal can there be in a levy?

Quam ob rem, patres conscripti, legatorum mentionem nullam censeo faciendam; rem administrandam arbitror sine ulla mora et confestim gerendam censeo; tumultum decerni, iustitium edici, saga sumi dico oportere, dilectum haberi sublatis vacationibus
32 in urbe et in Italia praeter Galliam tota. Quae si erunt facta, opinio ipsa et fama nostrae severitatis obruet scelerati gladiatoris amentiam. Sentiet sibi bellum cum re publica esse susceptum, experietur consentientis senatus nervos atque vires; nam nunc quidem partium contentionem esse dictitat. Quarum partium? Alteri victi sunt, alteri sunt e mediis C. Caesaris partibus; nisi forte Caesaris partes a Pansa et Hirtio consulibus et a filio C. Caesaris oppugnari putamus. Hoc vero bellum non est ex dissensione partium, sed ex nefaria spe perditissimorum civium excitatum, quibus bona fortunaeque nostrae notatae sunt et iam ad cuiusque opinionem distributae.

Legi epistulam Antoni, quam ad quendam septem-
33 virum, capitalem hominem, collegam suum, miserat. "Quid concupiscas, tu videris; quod concupiveris, certe habebis." Em, ad quem legatos mittamus, cui bellum moremur inferre; qui ne sorti quidem fortunas nostras destinavit, sed libidini cuiusque nos ita addixit, ut ne sibi quidem quicquam integrum,

[1] A tumult was a sudden and dangerous war in or near Italy, and in Roman history specially meant an irruption of Cisalpine Gauls. See Cicero's explanation of the term in viii. I. 1.

[2] C. seems to mean by the first *alteri* the adherents of Ant. in the Senate, who were crushed by the decrees of Dec. 20; by the second *alteri* the partisans of the dictator, whom A. might have expected to support him, but who were attacking him.

Wherefore, Conscript Fathers, I propose that no mention should be made of envoys; I think the matter should be attended to without any delay, and I propose it should be carried out at once; I say that a state of tumult[1] should be declared, a vacation of the Courts proclaimed, military garb assumed, a levy held, all exemptions from service being suspended in the city and in the whole of Italy excepting Gaul. If these measures shall be taken, the very belief and report of our stern action will overwhelm the madness of an accursed gladiator. He will feel that he has begun a war against the State; he will experience the energy and the strength of a Senate with one mind; for now he constantly says there is but a quarrel between parties. What parties? One side is conquered, the other is in the midst of Caius Caesar's party[2]—unless perhaps we think that Caesar's party is being attacked by the consuls Hirtius and Pansa and by Caius Caesar's son! But this war has not been stirred up out of the strife of parties, but out of the nefarious hopes of most profligate citizens, for whom our goods and fortunes have been marked down and already distributed according to each man's notions.

I have read a letter of Antonius, which he had written to a certain septemvir,[3] a jail-bird, and his colleague: "Settle yourself what you covet: whatever you covet you shall certainly have." Here is the man to whom we are to send envoys, against whom we are to delay war, a man who has not even committed our fortunes to a lottery, but has assigned us to every man's lust so thoroughly that he has not left even for himself a single thing intact

[3] As to the semptemvirate, see n. 1, p. 328.

quod non alicui promissum iam sit, reliquerit. Cum hoc, patres conscripti, bello, bello, inquam, decertandum est, idque confestim; legatorum tarditas repudianda est.

Quapropter, ne multa nobis cotidie decernenda
34 sint, consulibus totam rem publicam commendandam censeo iisque permittendum, ut rem publicam defendant provideantque, ne quid res publica detrimenti accipiat, censeoque, ut iis, qui in exercitu M. Antoni sunt, ne sit ea res fraudi, si ante Kalendas Februarias ab eo discesserint. Haec si censueritis, patres conscripti, brevi tempore libertatem populi Romani auctoritatemque vestram recuperabitis. Si autem lenius agetis, tamen eadem, sed fortasse serius decernetis. De re publica quoad rettulistis satis decrevisse videor.

XIII. Altera res est de honoribus; de quibus dein-
35 ceps intellego esse dicendum. Sed qui ordo in sententiis rogandis servari solet, eundem tenebo in viris fortibus honorandis. A. Bruto igitur, consule designato, more maiorum capiamus exordium.

Cuius ut superiora omittam, quae sunt maxima illa quidem, sed adhuc hominum magis iudiciis quam publice laudata, quibusnam verbis eius laudes huius ipsius temporis consequi possumus? Neque enim ullam mercedem tanta virtus praeter hanc laudis gloriaeque desiderat; qua etiam si careat, tamen sit se ipsa contenta, quamquam in memoria gratorum civium tamquam in luce posita laetetur. Laus igitur

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[1] For the meaning of this see n. 2, p. 114.

[2] *i.e.* by the new consuls, Hirtius and Pansa, who had consulted the Senate on the general state of public affairs.

[3] *i.e.* when the consul called upon each senator for his opinion. The usual practice was to begin with the consuls elect.

without having already promised it to some one. With this man, Conscript Fathers, the issue must be decided by war, by war, I say, and that at once; we must dispense with halting envoys.

Wherefore, to avoid the necessity of daily decrees, I propose that all the fortunes of the State should be entrusted to the consuls, and that they be charged to defend the State, and see to it that the State receive no damage;[1] and I propose that those in the army of Marcus Antonius be not prejudiced if they leave him before the Kalends of February. If you adopt these proposals, Conscript Fathers, you will in a short time recover the liberty of the Roman people and your own authority. But if you act more mildly, you will none the less issue the same decrees, but perhaps too late. So far as your[2] motion concerned the State, I think what I have proposed is sufficient.

XIII. The second question concerns the honours, and is, I understand, the next subject for discussion. In honouring brave men I will keep the order usually kept when opinions are solicited;[3] let us therefore, by immemorial custom begin with Brutus the consul elect.

To pass over his former services, which are indeed very great, but so far approved rather by the general judgment than by any public tribute, in what terms can we express our commendation of his services at this time? For there is no reward which such eminent merit looks for save this one of praise and fame; even if it were to lack that, still would it be content with its consciousness of itself, and yet it would rejoice to stand in the memory of grateful citizens, as in the light of day. Such praise, there-

iudicii testimoniique nostri tribuenda Bruto est.
36 Quam ob rem his verbis, patres conscripti, senatus consultum faciendum censeo.

"Cum D. Brutus imperator, consul designatus, provinciam Galliam in senatus populique Romani potestate teneat, cumque exercitum tantum tam brevi tempore summo studio municipiorum coloniarumque provinciae Galliae optime de re publica meritae merentisque conscripserit, compararit, id eum recte et ordine exque re publica fecisse, idque D. Bruti praestantissimum meritum in rem publicam senatui populoque Romano gratum esse et fore. Itaque senatum populumque Romanum existimare D. Bruti imperatoris, consulis designati, opera, consilio, virtute incredibilique studio et consensu provinciae Galliae rei publicae difficillumo tempore esse subventum."

37 Huic tanto merito Bruto, patres conscripti, tantoque in rem publicam beneficio quis est tantus honos qui non debeatur? Nam, si M. Antonio patuisset Gallia, si oppressis municipiis et coloniis imparatis in illam ultimam Galliam penetrare potuisset, quantus rei publicae terror impenderet? Dubitaret, credo, homo amentissimus atque in omnibus consiliis praeceps et devius non solum cum exercitu suo, sed etiam cum omni immanitate barbariae bellum inferre nobis, ut eius furorem ne Alpium quidem muro cohibere possemus. Haec igitur habenda gratia est D. Bruto, qui illum nondum interposita auctoritate vestra

fore, as our judgment and our testimony to his worth can bestow should be awarded to Brutus. Wherefore, Conscript Fathers, I propose a Senatorial decree in these terms:

"Whereas Decimus Brutus, general, consul elect, is keeping the Province of Gaul in allegiance to the Senate and Roman people; and whereas he has, in so short a time, amid the utmost zeal of the boroughs and colonies of the Province of Gaul, a province that has deserved and deserves well of the State, levied and collected so great an army, that he has done so rightly and in order, and in the interests of the State, and such pre-eminent service to the State is, and will be, grateful to the Senate and Roman people. Accordingly that the Senate and Roman people are of opinion that by the help, prudence, and valour of Decimus Brutus, general, consul elect, and by the marvellous zeal and unanimity of the Province of Gaul, the State has been assisted at a most difficult crisis."

For such a service as this by Brutus, Conscript Fathers, and such a benefit towards the State, what honour is too great to be due? For if Gaul had lain open to Marcus Antonius; if when he had crushed the boroughs and unprepared colonies he had been able to penetrate into Further Gaul, what a panic would now be impending over the State! He would hesitate, I suppose, this chief of madmen, headlong and erratic in all his judgments, to bring war on us, not only with his army, but also with all the savagery of barbarism, so that we could not check his frenzy even by the barrier of the Alps. This gratitude then is due to Decimus Brutus, who, without waiting for your authority, but by his own decision and judgment,

suo consilio atque iudicio non ut consulem recepit, sed ut hostem arcuit Gallia seque obsideri quam hanc urbem maluit. Habeat ergo huius tanti facti tamque praeclari decreto nostro testimonium sempiternum, Galliaque, quae semper praesidet atque praesedit huic imperio libertatique communi, merito vereque laudetur, quod se suasque vires non tradidit, sed opposuit Antonio.

38 XIV. Atque etiam M. Lepido pro eius egregiis in
rem publicam meritis decernendos honores quam
amplissimos censeo. Semper ille populum Romanum
liberum voluit maximumque signum illo die dedit
voluntatis et iudicii sui, cum Antonio diadema Caesari
imponente se avertit gemituque et maestitia declaravit,
quantum haberet odium servitutis, quam populum
Romanum liberum cuperet, quam illa, quae tulerat,
temporum magis necessitate quam iudicio tulisset.
Quanta vero is moderatione usus sit in illo tempore
civitatis, quod post mortem Caesaris consecutum est,
quis nostrum oblivisci potest? Magna haec, sed ad
39 maiora properat oratio. Quid enim, o di immortales!
admirabilius omnibus gentibus, quid optatius populo
Romano accidere potuit, quam, cum bellum civile
maximum esset, cuius belli exitum omnes timeremus,
sapientia et clementia id potius extingui quam armis
et ferro rem in discrimen adducere? Quodsi eadem
ratio Caesaris fuisset in illo taetro miseroque bello, ut

[1] He had not joined in A.'s illegalities, but had withdrawn from Rome.

[2] With S. Pompeius in Spain. Lep. effected a reconciliation, and was decreed a public thanksgiving (*supplicatio*). See below and *Phil.* iii. 9., and as to P. cf. *Phil.* xiii. Intr.

refused to receive that man as a consul, but kept him out of Gaul, as being an enemy, and chose rather to be besieged himself than to see this city besieged. Let him therefore receive by our decree an everlasting testimonial to this deed so great and so noble; and let Gaul, which always protects and has protected this empire, and the liberty of all, be in justice and truth commended for not having surrendered, but for having opposed, to Antonius itself and its strength.

XIV. And to Marcus Lepidus too, in return for his eminent services to the State, I propose the most generous honours should be decreed. He has always wished the Roman people to be free, and he gave the greatest proof of his inclination and opinion on the day when, while Antonius was setting a diadem on Caesar's head, he turned away, and by his groans and sadness showed how great was his hatred of slavery; how he longed that the Roman people should be free, and how it was from the necessity of the times rather than from choice he had borne what he had borne. And who of us can forget how great was his moderation in the crisis of the State that followed Caesar's death?[1] These are great merits, but I hasten to speak of greater. For what, ye immortal Gods! could have happened more admirable in the eyes of all nations, what more welcome to the Roman people, than that, when the civil war,[2] whose issue we all were dreading, was at its height, it should be extinguished by wisdom and clemency instead of bringing matters to an issue by arms and the sword? But if Caesar's policy had been the same in that savage and miserable war, then—to say nothing of the father—the two sons

omittam patrem, duos Cn. Pompei, summi et singularis viri, filios incolumes haberemus, quibus certe pietas fraudi esse non debuit. Utinam omnes M. Lepidus servare potuisset! facturum fuisse declaravit in eo, quod potuit, cum Sex. Pompeium restituit civitati, maximum ornamentum rei publicae, clarissimum monumentum clementiae suae. Gravis illa fortuna populi Romani, grave fatum. Pompeio enim patre, quod imperii populi Romani lumen fuit, extincto interfectus est patris simillimus filius
40 Sed omnia mihi videntur deorum immortalium iudicio expiata Sex. Pompeio rei publicae conservato.

XV. Quam ob causam iustam atque magnam, et quod periculosissimum civile bellum maximumque humanitate et sapientia sua M. Lepidus ad pacem concordiamque convertit, senatus consultum his verbis censeo perscribendum:

"Cum a M. Lepido imperatore, pontifice maximo, saepe numero res publica et bene et feliciter gesta sit, populusque Romanus intellexerit ei dominatum regium maxime displicere, cumque eius opera, virtute, consilio singularique clementia et mansuetudine bellum acerbissimum civile sit restinctum,
41 Sextusque Pompeius Cn. f. Magnus huius ordinis auctoritate ab armis discesserit et a M. Lepido imperatore, pontifice maximo, summa senatus populique

[1] Lep. could not save Pompeius' other son Cnaeus, who was slain when in flight after Caesar's victory at Munda in 45 B.C. This "*patris simillimus filius*" Cassius describes to C. as "one who, as you know, regards cruelty as a virtue": *ad Fam.* xv. 19.

of that most eminent and remarkable man, Cnaeus Pompeius, we should have unharmed among us—for their filial piety ought certainly not to have prejudiced them. Would that Marcus Lepidus had been able to save all! that he would have done so he showed where he had the power, when he restored Sextus Pompeius to his fellow citizens, to be the greatest ornament to the State, the most illustrious memorial of his own clemency. Heavy was that misfortune, heavy the lot of the Roman people! For in Pompeius the father the very light of the empire of the Roman people was extinct, and then a son most like his father was slain.[1] But all things were, as it seems to me, atoned for by the decision of the immortal Gods when Sextus Pompeius was preserved for the State.

XV. For this reason, a just and important one, and because Marcus Lepidus by his humanity and wisdom has changed a most dangerous and mighty civil war to peace and concord, I propose that a Senatorial decree should be registered in these terms:

"Whereas the State has been often well and prosperously administered by Marcus Lepidus, general, and Pontifex Maximus, and the Roman people has understood that kingly power is especially repugnant to him; and whereas by his help, valour, prudence, and singular clemency and mildness, a most bitter civil war has been extinguished, and Sextus Pompeius Magnus, the son of Cnaeus, has, obediently to the authority of this order, laid down his arms, and has been restored to his fellow citizens by Marcus Lepidus, general and Pontifex Maximus, with the utmost good-will of the Senate and Roman

Romani voluntate civitati restitutus sit, senatum populumque Romanum pro maximis plurimisque in rem publicam M. Lepidi meritis magnam spem in eius virtute, auctoritate, felicitate reponere otii, pacis, concordiae, libertatis, eiusque in rem publicam meritorum senatum populumque Romanum memorem fore, eique statuam equestrem inauratam in rostris, aut quo alio loco in foro vellet, ex huius ordinis sententia statui placere."

Qui honos, patres conscripti, mihi maximus videtur; primum quia iustus est; non enim solum datur propter spem temporum reliquorum, sed pro amplissimis meritis redditur; nec vero cuiquam possumus commemorare hunc honorem a senatu tributum iudicio senatus soluto et libero.

42 XVI. Venio ad C. Caesarem, patres conscripti, qui nisi fuisset, quis nostrum esse potuisset? Advolabat ad urbem a Brundisio homo impotentissimus ardens odio, animo hostili in omnes bonos cum exercitu, Antonius. Quid huius audaciae et sceleri poterat opponi? Nondum ullos duces habebamus, non copias; nullum erat consilium publicum, nulla libertas; dandae cervices erant crudelitati nefariae; fugam quaerebamus omnes, quae ipsa exitum non
43 habebat. Quis tum nobis, quis populo Romano optulit hunc divinum adulescentem deus? qui, cum omnia ad perniciem nostram pestifero illi civi paterent, subito praeter spem omnium exortus prius confecit exercitum, quem furori M. Antoni opponeret,

people, be it decreed that, in regard of the eminent and numerous services to the State of Marcus Lepidus, the Senate and the Roman people repose in his valour, influence, and good fortune a great hope of ease, peace, concord, and liberty, and that of his services to the State the Senate and Roman people will be mindful, and that it is by its decree the pleasure of this order that a gilt equestrian statue to him should be erected on the rostra, or in any other place in the forum he may wish."

This honour, Conscript Fathers, seems to me to be very great, first because it is just, for it is not only given for expectations of the future, but is paid for the most ample services rendered; and we cannot recall that this honour has been bestowed on anyone by the Senate by the Senate's free and unfettered judgment.

XVI. I come to Caius Caesar, Conscript Fathers; and if he had not lived, who of us could have been alive now? There was flying to the city from Brundisium a man of most ungovernable temper, burning with hatred, with a mind hostile to all loyal men, a man with an army—in short, Antonius. What could have been opposed to this man's audacity and iniquity? As yet we had no commanders, no forces; there was no council of State, no liberty; our necks were at the mercy of his lawless cruelty; we were all looking to flight, and flight itself afforded no escape. What God at that time presented to us, to the Roman people, this Heaven-sent young man, who, when every avenue to our destruction lay open for that pestilent citizen, suddenly, beyond the hope of all, arose and got together an army to oppose to the frenzy of Marcus Antonius before anyone sus-

quam quisquam hoc eum cogitare suspicaretur. Magni honores habiti Cn. Pompeio, cum esset adulescens, et quidem iure; subvenit enim rei publicae, sed aetate multo robustior et militum ducem quaerentium studio paratior et in alio genere belli; non enim omnibus Sullae causa grata; declarat multitudo proscriptorum, tot municipiorum
44 maximae calamitates. Caesar autem annis multis minor veteranos cupientes iam requiescere armavit; eam complexus est causam, quae esset senatui, quae populo, quae cunctae Italiae, quae dis hominibusque gratissuma. Et Pompeius ad L. Sullae maximum imperium victoremque exercitum accessit; Caesar se ad neminem adiunxit; ipse princeps exercitus faciendi et praesidii comparandi fuit. Ille adversariorum partibus agrum Picenum habuit inimicum, hic ex Antoni amicis, sed amicioribus libertatis contra Antonium confecit exercitum. Illius opibus Sulla regnavit, huius praesidio Antoni dominatus oppressus est.

45 Demus igitur imperium Caesari, sine quo res militaris administrari, teneri exercitus, bellum geri non potest; sit pro praetore eo iure, quo qui optimo. Qui honos quamquam est magnus illi aetati, tamen ad necessitatem rerum gerendarum, non solum ad dignitatem valet. Itaque illa quaeramus, quae vix hodierno die consequemur.

XVII. Sed saepe spero fore huius adulescentis

pected any such intention of his? Great honours were paid to Cnaeus Pompeius though he was a young man, and indeed rightly; for he came to the assistance of the State, but at a much more robust age, and better equipped because of the zeal of soldiers looking for a commander, and in a war of a different kind; for the cause of Sulla was not grateful to all; the multitude of those proscribed, and the very serious calamities of so many boroughs show this. But Caesar, though many years younger, has armed veterans now desirous of rest; he has embraced the cause that would be most grateful to the Senate, to the people, to all Italy, and to Gods and men. And Pompeius attached himself to the very ample command and victorious army of Lucius Sulla; Caesar has not joined anyone; he himself has been the first to raise an army, and to initiate defence. Pompeius held the territory of Picenum which was hostile to the adversaries' party; Caesar, from those who were the friends of Antonius, but were more friendly to liberty, has made an army to oppose Antonius. By the help of Pompeius Sulla reigned; by Caesar's protection the tyranny of Antonius has been crushed.

Let us therefore give Caesar the command, without which no military affairs can be administered, no army held together, no war waged; let him be pro-praetor with the fullest power of a regular appointment. That honour is a great one at his age, but it serves to assist the measures necessary to be taken, not merely to enhance his dignity. Therefore let us ask for that, which is as much as we shall gain to-day.

XVII. But I do hope that both we and the Roman

ornandi honorandique et nobis et populo Romano potestatem; hoc autem tempore ita censeo decernundum:

46 "Quod C. Caesar C. f., pontifex, pro praetore, summo rei publicae tempore milites veteranos ad libertatem populi Romani cohortatus sit eosque conscripserit, quodque legio Martia quartaque summo studio optimoque in rem publicam consensu C. Caesare duce et auctore rem publicam, libertatem populi Romani defendant, defenderint, et quod C. Caesar pro praetore Galliae provinciae cum exercitu subsidio profectus sit, equites, sagittarios, elephantos in suam populique Romani potestatem redegerit difficillumoque rei publicae tempore saluti dignitatique populi Romani subvenerit, ob eas causas senatui placere C. Caesarem C. f., pontificem, pro praetore, senatorem esse sententiamque loco praetorio dicere, eiusque rationem, quemcumque magistratum petet, ita haberi, ut haberi per leges liceret, si anno superiore quaestor fuisset."

47 Quid est enim, patres conscripti, cur eum non quam primum amplissimos honores capere cupiamus? Legibus enim annalibus cum grandiorem aetatem ad consulatum constituebant, adulescentiae temeritatem verebantur; C. Caesar ineunte aetate docuit ab excellenti eximiaque virtute progressum aetatis expectari non oportere. Itaque maiores nostri

[1] The first and principal Lex Annalis was the Lex Villia of 180 B.C. The age for the quaestorship (the lowest office) was 31.

people shall often be enabled to distinguish and honour this young man. However, at this time I propose that the following should be our decree:

"Whereas Caius Caesar, the son of Caius, Pontifex, pro-praetor, at a serious crisis of the State has exhorted the veteran soldiers to defend the liberty of the Roman people, and has enrolled them; and whereas the Martian legion and the Fourth, with the utmost zeal, and the most admirable unanimity in serving the State, under the command and authority of Caius Caesar, are defending, and have defended, the State and the liberty of the Roman people; and whereas Caius Caesar, pro-praetor, has with an army set out for the relief of the province of Gaul, has brought within his own obedience and that of the Roman people cavalry, archers, and elephants, and has, at a most difficult crisis of the State, come to the assistance of the lives and dignity of the Roman people—therefore for these reasons it is the pleasure of the Senate that Caius Caesar, the son of Caius, Pontifex, pro-praetor, be a senator, and express his opinion on the praetorian benches; and that, whatever be the office he shall seek, the same account be taken of his candidature as would be legally permissive if he had been quaestor the preceding year."

For what reason is there, Conscript Fathers, why we should not wish him to attain as soon as possible the fullest honours? For when by the Offices Qualification laws[1] men appointed a later age for the consulship they feared the rashness of youth; Caius Caesar has, in opening manhood, shown that excellent and remarkable merit should not wait for the advance of age. Accordingly our ancestors,

veteres illi admodum antiqui leges annales non habebant, quas multis post annis attulit ambitio, ut gradus esset petitionis inter aequales. Ita saepe magna indoles virtutis, priusquam rei publicae
48 prodesse potuisset, extincta est. At vero apud antiquos Rulli, Decii, Corvini multique alii, recentiore autem memoria superior Africanus, T. Flamininus admodum adulescentes consules facti tantas res gesserunt, ut populi Romani imperium auxerint, nomen ornarint. Quid? Macedo Alexander cum ab ineunte aetate res maximas gerere coepisset, nonne tertio et tricesimo anno mortem obiit? quae est aetas nostris legibus decem annis minor quam consularis. Ex quo iudicari potest virtutis esse quam aetatis cursum celeriorem.

XVIII. Nam quod ii, qui Caesari invident, simulant se timere, ne verendum quidem est, ut tenere se possit, ut moderari, ne honoribus nostris elatus
49 intemperantius suis opibus utatur. Ea natura rerum est, patres conscripti, ut, qui sensum verae gloriae ceperit, quique se ab senatu, ab equitibus Romanis populoque Romano universo senserit civem carum haberi salutaremque rei publicae, nihil cum hac gloria comparandum putet. Utinam C. Caesari, patri dico, contigisset adulescenti, ut esset senatui atque optimo cuique carissimus! Quod cum consequi neglexisset, omnem vim ingenii, quae summa

those old ancestors of a long past age, had no Offices Qualification laws: it was the rivalry of candidates that many years afterwards introduced these laws that the successive candidatures might be between men of the same age. And thus a great endowment of virtue was often lost before it could be of service to the State. But among the ancients the Rulli, the Decii, the Corvini, and many others, and within more recent memory the elder Africanus and Titus Flamininus were made consuls when very young, and achieved things so great that they extended the empire of the Roman people and made its name illustrious. Again, did not Alexander of Macedon, when he had begun the greatest exploits in opening manhood, die in his three-and-thirtieth year, an age by our laws ten years younger than a consular age? From this it can be concluded that manly spirit advances on a swifter course than that of age.

XVIII. For as to the pretended fears of those who envy Caesar, there is no reason to apprehend that he may be unable to hold himself in check or show moderation, that, elated by our honours, he may employ his powers intemperately. It is natural, Conscript Fathers, that one who has grasped the meaning of true glory, one who feels he is regarded by the Senate, by the Roman knights, and by the entire Roman people as a loved citizen and the salvation of the State, should deem nothing comparable with this glory. Would it had been the fortune of Caius Caesar—the father I mean—when a young man to be very dear to the Senate and every loyal citizen! Because he neglected to secure this, he wasted all the power of his intellect—and in him

fuit in illo, in populari levitate consumpsit. Itaque cum respectum ad senatum et ad bonos non haberet, eam sibi viam ipse patefecit ad opes suas amplificandas, quam virtus liberi populi ferre non posset.

Eius autem filii longissume diversa ratio est; qui cum omnibus est, tum optimo cuique carissimus. In hoc spes libertatis posita est, ab hoc accepta iam salus, huic summi honores et exquiruntur et parati
50 sunt. Cuius igitur singularem prudentiam admiramur, eius stultitiam timemus? Quid enim stultius quam inutilem potentiam, invidiosas opes, cupiditatem dominandi praecipitem et lubricam anteferre verae, gravi, solidae gloriae? An hoc vidit puer; si aetate processerit, non videbit? "At est quibusdam inimicus clarissimis atque optimis civibus." Nullus iste timor esse debet; omnes Caesar inimicitias rei publicae condonavit, hanc sibi iudicem constituit, hanc moderatricem omnium consiliorum[1] atque factorum. Ita enim ad rem publicam accessit, ut eam confirmaret, non ut everteret. Omnes habeo cognitos sensus adulescentis. Nihil est illi re publica carius, nihil vestra auctoritate gravius, nihil bonorum virorum iudicio optatius, nihil vera gloria dulcius.
51 Quam ob rem ab eo non modo nihil timere, sed maiora et meliora exspectare debetis neque in eo, qui ad D. Brutum obsidione liberandum profectus sit, timere ne memoria maneat domestici doloris, quae plus apud eum possit quam salus civitatis. Audebo etiam obligare fidem meam, patres conscripti, vobis

[1] The Vat. MS. omits this word. The conjecture is by Faernus; cf. *Phil.* x. 10, where *consilia* is joined with *facta.*

[1] The death of his adoptive father, Julius Caesar. D. Brutus was one of the conspirators.

it was of the highest—in pandering to popular humours. Thus, having no regard to the Senate and to good men, he opened for himself that path to the extension of his power which the manly spirit of a free people could not endure.

But the method of his son is the very opposite: he is very dear to all, and especially to every loyal man. On him our hope of liberty rests; from him our safety has been already recovered; for him the highest honours are being sought out and are ready. When therefore we admire his singular prudence, do we fear his folly? For what is more foolish than to prefer unprofitable power, invidious wealth, the lust for despotism, rash and hazardous as it is, to stable and solid glory? Has he seen this as a boy, and, if he advance in age, will he not see it? "But he is hostile to some most illustrious and loyal citizens." That should cause no fear: Caesar has made the State a gift of his personal enmities; he has appointed her his judge, the controller of all his plans and actions; for he has entered the service of the State only to strengthen, not to overturn her. I have within my knowledge all the feelings of the young man. Nothing is dearer to him than the State, nothing more important than your authority, nothing more desirable than the opinion of good men, nothing sweeter than genuine glory. Wherefore, so far from fearing anything from him, you should rather expect greater and better things, and not fear, in a man who has set forth to free Decimus Brutus from a blockade, that the memory of domestic grief[1] should be so abiding as to prevail with him over the safety of the State. I shall even venture to pledge my word, Conscript Fathers, to you and

populoque Romano reique publicae; quod profecto, cum me nulla vis cogeret, facere non auderem pertimesceremque in maxima re periculosam opinionem temeritatis. Promitto, recipio, spondeo, patres conscripti, C. Caesarem talem semper fore civem, qualis hodie sit, qualemque eum maxime velle esse et optare debemus.

52 XIX. Quae cum ita sint, de Caesare satis hoc tempore dictum habebo. Nec vero de L. Egnatuleio, fortissimo et constantissimo civi amicissimoque rei publicae, silendum arbitror, sed tribuendum testimonium virtutis egregiae, quod is legionem quartam ad Caesarem adduxerit, quae praesidio consulibus, senatui populoque Romano reique publicae esset; ob eam causam placere, uti L. Egnatuleio triennium ante legitimum tempus magistratus petere, capere, gerere liceat. In quo, patres conscripti, non tantum commodum tribuitur L. Egnatuleio, quantus honos; in tali enim re satis est nominari.

53 De exercitu autem C. Caesaris ita censeo decernundum:

"Senatui placere militibus veteranis, qui Caesaris pontificis *auctoritatem secuti libertatem populi Romani* [1] auctoritatemque huius ordinis defenderint atque defendant, iis liberisque eorum militiae vacationem esse; utique C. Pansa A. Hirtius consules, alter ambove, si eis videretur, cognoscerent, qui ager iis coloniis esset, quo milites veterani deducti essent, qui

[1] The words in italics are added by Halm on a suggestion of Garatonius. Cf. the decree in iii. 15. 37.

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[1] C. in *Epp. ad Brut.* 1. 18 regrets this engagement "*pro adulescente ac paene puero,*" and adds, "*vix videbar quod promiseram praestare posse.*" But these letters are probably spurious.

to the Roman people, and to the State—a venture I should assuredly not undertake were there no compelling constraint upon me, and should shrink in so supreme a matter from the perilous reputation of temerity. I promise, I undertake, I solemnly engage, Conscript Fathers, that Caius Caesar will always be such a citizen as he is to-day, and as we should especially wish and pray he should be.[1]

XIX. In the circumstances I shall regard what I have said of Caius Caesar as sufficient at present. But concerning Lucius Egnatuleius, a most brave and steadfast citizen, and one most well-affected towards the State, I think we should not be silent; but should bear our testimony to his eminent virtue in bringing over to Caesar the fourth legion to be a protection to the consuls, the Senate, and the Roman people, and the State. On that account I move that it be our pleasure that Lucius Egnatuleius may be allowed to seek, to hold, and to administer offices three years before the legitimate time. In this motion is bestowed on Lucius Egnatuleius not advantage so much as honour; for in such a matter it is sufficient to be named,

And concerning the army of Caius Caesar, I propose our decree should be:

"It is the pleasure of the Senate that the veteran soldiers who, attaching themselves to the leadership of Caesar, Pontifex, pro-praetor, have defended and are defending the liberty of the Roman people and the authority of this our order, together with their children, have exemption from service; and that Caius Pansa and Aulus Hirtius, one or both of them, if it seem good to them, enquire what land there is in those colonies in which the veteran soldiers have

contra legem Iuliam possideretur, ut is militibus veteranis divideretur; de agro Campano separatim cognoscerent inirentque rationem de commodis militum veteranorum augendis; legionique Martiae et legioni quartae et iis militibus, qui de legione secunda, tricesima quinta ad C. Pansam A. Hirtium consules venissent suaque nomina edidissent, quod iis auctoritas senatus populique Romani libertas carissima sit et fuerit, vacationem militiae ipsis liberisque eorum esse placere extra tumultum Gallicum Italicumque, easque legiones bello confecto missas fieri placere; quantamque pecuniam militibus earum legionum in singulos C. Caesar pontifex, pro praetore, pollicitus sit, tantam dari placere; utique C. Pansa A. Hirtius consules, alter ambove, si eis videretur, rationem agri haberent, qui sine iniuria privatorum dividi posset; iisque militibus, legioni Martiae et legioni quartae ita darent, adsignarent, ut quibus militibus amplissime dati, adsignati essent."

Dixi ad ea omnia, consules, de quibus rettulistis; quae si erunt sine mora matureque decreta, facilius adparabitis ea, quae tempus et necessitas flagitat. Celeritate autem opus est; qua si essemus usi, bellum, ut saepe dixi, nullum haberemus.

[1] The agrarian law of J. Caesar in his consulship (59 B.C.). This was for the division among the Pompeian veterans and the poorer citizens of State lands in Campania, etc. These were the lands Ant. had divided "amongst his boon companions and fellow-gamblers": *Phil.* ii. 39.

been settled, which is held in violation of the Julian law,[1] with a view to its division amongst the veteran soldiers: and concerning the Campanian land, that they make separate enquiry, and devise a method of increasing the benefits of the veteran soldiers; and with regard to the Martian and fourth legion, and to those soldiers of the second and thirty-fifth legions who joined the consuls Caius Pansa and Aulus Hirtius, and gave in their names because the authority of the Senate and the liberty of the Roman people is and has been most dear to them, that it is the pleasure of the Senate that they and their children have exemption from service, saving a Gallic and Italian state of tumult; and that it is the Senate's pleasure that these legions at the end of the war be discharged; and that it is its pleasure that whatever sum of money Caius Caesar, Pontifex, pro-praetor, has promised individually to the soldiers of those legions, should be given them; and that C. Pansa and A. Hirtius, the consuls, either or both of them, if it seem good to them, make an estimate of the land that can, without private injury, be divided; and that to those soldiers, that is, to the Martian and fourth legions, they give and assign lands in the fullest measure ever adopted in any gift and assignment to soldiers."

I have spoken, consuls, to all proposals you have put before us; if they are ratified without delay and in good time, you will the more easily make those preparations which time and necessity demand. But prompt action is necessary: had we adopted it, we should, as I have often said, be having no war.

INTRODUCTION TO PHILIPPIC VI

On the conclusion of the debate in the Senate the people, who had gathered in the Forum, called upon Cicero to give them an account of what had been determined: *Phil.* 7. 8. Being introduced by Apuleius the tribune, he delivered the sixth Philippic on the last day of the debate, the 4th of January.

He told them how he had proposed that a state of siege should be proclaimed, the law courts closed, and the garb of war assumed. For the first three days, he said, it was apparent that all the Senators, except a few, would support him; but at the last weaker counsels prevailed, and an embassy was decreed. With regard to this, he prophesied that it would be fruitless, as Antonius would not lay down his arms in obedience to the Senate. Nevertheless he advised the people to await with patience the return of the envoys. He himself promised to watch the interests of the State. And in a fine peroration he exhorted them to be constant in their exertions to recover their liberty. "Other nations can endure slavery; the Roman people's peculiar possession is liberty."

M. TULLI CICERONIS IN M. ANTONIUM ORATIO PHILIPPICA SEXTA

1 I. Audita vobis esse arbitror, Quirites, quae sint acta in senatu, quae fuerit cuiusque sententia. Res enim ex Kalendis Ianuariis agitata paulo ante confecta est minus quidem illa severe, quam decuit, non tamen omnino dissolute. Mora est adlata bello, non causa sublata. Quam ob rem, quod quaesivit ex me P. Apuleius, homo et multis officiis mihi et summa familiaritate coniunctus et vobis amicissimus, ita respondebo, ut ea, quibus non interfuistis, nosse possitis.

Causa fortissimis optimisque consulibus Kalendis Ianuariis de re publica primum referendi fuit ex eo, quod XIII Kalendas Ian. senatus me auctore decrevit.
2 Eo die primum, Quirites, fundamenta sunt iacta rei publicae; fuit enim longo intervallo ita liber senatus, ut vos aliquando liberi essetis. Quo quidem tempore, etiamsi ille dies vitae finem mihi adlaturus esset, satis magnum ceperam fructum, cum vos universi una mente atque voce iterum a me conservatam esse rem publicam conclamastis. Hoc vestro iudicio tanto tamque praeclaro excitatus ita Kalendis Ianuariis veni

[1] The date of the third Philippic.

THE SIXTH PHILIPPIC OF M. TULLIUS CICERO AGAINST M. ANTONIUS

I. I THINK, Romans, rumours have reached you of what has been transacted in the Senate, and what each individual opinion was: for the matter discussed ever since the Kalends of January has just been concluded, with less severity than should have been, yet not altogether remissly. War has been postponed, but its cause not removed. Wherefore in regard to the question which Publius Apuleius, a man allied to me by many kindly offices and the closest intimacy, and your very good friend, has addressed to me, I will make a reply that will enable you to understand those matters at which you were not present.

The reason that first prompted our most gallant and excellent consuls on the Kalends of January to submit a motion on the general aspect of State affairs was the decree the Senate made on the 20th of December[1] at my instigation. On that day, Romans, the foundations of the commonwealth were first laid; for the Senate, after a long interval, became so entirely free that you were at length free. At that time, indeed, even had that day been fated to bring an end to my life, I had earned a recompense sufficiently great when you all with one mind and voice shouted that the State had been a second time saved by me. Encouraged by this weighty and remarkable judgment of yours, I came into the Senate on the Kalends of January bearing in mind

in senatum, ut meminissem, quam personam impositam a vobis sustinerem. Itaque bellum nefarium inlatum rei publicae cum viderem, nullam moram interponendam insequendi M. Antonium putavi, hominemque audacissimum, qui multis nefariis rebus ante commissis hoc tempore imperatorem populi Romani oppugnaret, coloniam vestram fidissimam fortissimamque obsideret, bello censui persequendum; tumultum esse decrevi; iustitium edici, saga sumi dixi placere, quo omnes acrius graviusque incumberent ad ulciscendas rei publicae iniurias, si omnia gravissimi belli insignia suscepta a senatu
3 viderent. Itaque haec sententia, Quirites, sic per triduum valuit, ut, quamquam discessio facta non esset, tamen praeter paucos omnes mihi adsensuri viderentur. Hodierno autem die spe nescio qua eis obiecta[1] remissior senatus fuit. Nam plures eam sententiam secuti sunt, ut, quantum senatus auctoritas vesterque consensus apud Antonium valiturus esset, per legatos experiremur.

II. Intellego, Quirites, a vobis hanc sententiam repudiari, neque iniuria. Ad quem enim legatos? ad eumne, qui pecunia publica dissipata atque effusa, per vim et contra auspicia impositis rei publicae legibus, fugata contione, obsesso senatu ad opprimendam rem publicam Brundisio legiones accersierit, ab iis relictus cum latronum manu in Galliam

[1] Bücheler, amending the unintelligible Vat. MS., reads *pacis obj.* Halm suggests *die, nescio qua objecta re.*

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[1] Appian (*B.C.* 3. 51) states that the Senate was influenced by pity: see the Intr. to *Phil.* v.

the character imposed on me by you, which I had to sustain. Seeing, as I did, a wicked war waged against the State, I thought that no time should be lost in following up Marcus Antonius, and I proposed that the man who, with the utmost audacity, after the commission of many previous criminal acts, was at this time attacking a general of the Roman people, and besieging your most loyal and brave colony, should be attacked in war; I voted for a state of tumult being decreed; I said the Senate should decree that a closing of the courts be declared, that military garb be assumed, so that all men, if they saw all the symbols of a very serious war adopted by the Senate, might with greater zeal address themselves to the avenging of the injuries of the State. Accordingly this view, Romans, so fully prevailed for three days that, although there was no division, yet, saving a few, all appeared likely to assent to my opinion. But to-day, because of some expectation or other presented to it,[1] the Senate was more lenient; for the majority supported the view that we should ascertain through envoys how far the authority of the Senate and your unanimous support would prevail with Antonius.

II. I gather, Romans, that this view is repudiated by you; and not without reason. For to whom should we send envoys? To that man who, after dissipating and squandering public moneys, after imposing laws on the State by violence and in the face of the auspices, after dispersing a public meeting, after besieging the Senate, summoned legions from Brundisium to oppose the commonwealth, and, when he had been deserted by those legions, burst into Gaul with a band of brigands, is attacking

inruperit, Brutum oppugnet, Mutinam circumsedeat? Quae vobis potest cum hoc gladiatore condicionis,
4 aequitatis, legationis esse communitas? Quamquam, Quirites, non est illa legatio, sed denuntiatio belli, nisi paruerit; ita enim est decretum, ut si legati ad Hannibalem mitterentur. Mittuntur enim, qui nuntient, ne oppugnet consulem designatum, ne Mutinam obsideat, ne provinciam depopuletur, ne dilectus habeat, sit in senatus populique Romani potestate. Facile vero huic denuntiationi parebit, ut in patrum conscriptorum atque in vestra potestate sit, qui in sua numquam fuerit! Quid enim ille umquam arbitrio suo fecit? Semper eo tractus est, quo libido rapuit, quo levitas, quo furor, quo vinulentia; semper eum duo dissimilia genera tenuerunt, lenonum et latronum; ita domesticis stupris, forensibus parricidiis delectatur, ut mulieri citius avarissimae paruerit quam senatui populoque Romano.

5 III. Itaque, quod paulo ante feci in senatu, faciam apud vos. Testificor, denuntio, ante praedico nihil M. Antonium eorum, quae sunt legatis mandata, facturum, vastaturum agros, Mutinam obsessurum, dilectus, qua possit, habiturum. Is est enim ille, qui semper senatus iudicium et auctoritatem, semper voluntatem vestram potestatemque contempserit. An ille id faciat, quod paulo ante decretum est, ut exercitum citra flumen Rubiconem, qui finis est Galliae, educeret, dum ne propius urbem Romam

[1] His wife Fulvia.

Brutus and besieging Mutina? What communion can you have with this gladiator, either as regards conditions of peace, or equity, or any embassy at all? And yet, Romans, this is not an embassy, but a threat of war if he does not obey; for such is the decree, just as if ambassadors were being sent to a Hannibal. For they are sent to intimate to him not to blockade a consul elect, not to besiege Mutina, not to lay waste the province, not to hold levies, but to submit to the government of the Senate and the Roman people. He will readily no doubt obey this intimation, so as to submit to the Conscript Fathers and your government—a man who has never governed himself! For what has that man ever done on his own initiative? He has always been dragged where lust, where humour, where frenzy, where intoxication, has dragged him; two different classes of men have always held him in their grip, pimps and brigands; he so enjoys lecheries at home and murders in the forum that he would sooner obey a most avaricious woman [1] than the Senate and the Roman people.

III. Accordingly, what I did just now in the Senate I will do before you. I bear witness, I give notice, I predict beforehand that Marcus Antonius will perform none of the commands the envoys bring, that he will devastate the land, besiege Mutina, hold levies in what way he can. For he is a man that has always held in contempt the opinion and the authority of the Senate, and always your wishes and power. Or is he the man to carry out the recent decree that he should draw off his army to this side of the boundary of Gaul, the river Rubicon, provided he did not march it nearer the city than

ducenta milia admoveret? Huic denuntiationi ille
pareat, ille se fluvio Rubicone et ducentis milibus
6 circumscriptum esse patiatur? Non is est Antonius;
nam, si esset, non commisisset, ut ei senatus tamquam
Hannibali initio belli Punici denuntiaret, ne oppug-
naret Saguntum. Quod vero ita avocatur a Mutina,
ut ab urbe tamquam pestifera flamma arceatur, quam
habet ignominiam, quod iudicium senatus! Quid?
quod a senatu dantur mandata legatis, ut D. Brutum
militesque eius adeant iisque demonstrent summa
in rem publicam merita beneficiaque eorum grata
esse senatui populoque Romano iisque eam rem
magnae laudi magnoque honori fore, passurumne
censetis Antonium introire Mutinam legatos, exire
inde tuto? Numquam patietur, mihi credite; novi
7 violentiam, novi impudentiam, novi audaciam. Nec
vero de illo sicut de homine aliquo debemus, sed ut
de importunissima belua cogitare.

Quae cum ita sint, non omnino dissolutum est, quod
decrevit senatus; habet atrocitatis aliquid legatio;
utinam nihil haberet morae! Nam cum plerisque in
rebus gerendis tarditas et procrastinatio odiosa est,
tum hoc bellum indiget celeritatis. Succurrendum
est D. Bruto, omnes undique copiae colligendae;
horam eximere ullam[1] in tali cive liberando sine
8 scelere non possumus. An ille non potuit, si
Antonium consulem, si Galliam Antoni provinciam
iudicasset, legiones Antonio et provinciam tradere,
domum redire, triumphare, primus in hoc ordine,

[1] *Horam exhibere nullam* (MSS.). *Horam excubare nullam* (Lambinus); cf. c. 7, of this speech (*excubabo*).

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[1] A river N. of Ariminum, dividing Cis. Gaul from Italia proper.

two hundred miles? He the man to obey this warning? he to allow himself to be circumscribed by the river Rubicon[1] and two hundred miles? Antonius is not such a man; for if he were, he would not by his action have compelled the Senate to warn him, as if he were a Hannibal at the beginning of the Punic war, not to blockade a Saguntum. And his being called off from Mutina only to be kept away from the city like a destructive fire—what a disgrace, what an opinion of the Senate, does this involve! And again, as to the Senate's charge to the envoys to go to Decimus Brutus and his soldiers, and to assure them that their eminent services and good-will towards the State are pleasing to the Senate and to the Roman people, and that their actions will redound to their glory and great honour?—do you think Antonius will suffer the envoys to enter Mutina? to depart in safety? He will never suffer it, believe me; I know his violence, I know his impudence, I know his audacity. In truth we ought not to think of him as of a human being, but as a most outrageous beast.

In the circumstances, the Senate's decree is not altogether remiss; the embassy has some element of severity; would that it involved no delay! For as in the conduct of most things slowness and procrastination are hateful, so this war especially asks for speed. We must relieve Decimus Brutus; all our forces must be collected from all quarters; we cannot without crime lose a single hour in the rescue of so good a citizen. If he had considered Antonius to be a consul, and Gaul Antonius' province, could he not have handed over the legions and the province to Antonius, have returned home, triumphed, and

quoad magistratum iniret, sententiam dicere? Quid
9 negotii fuit? Sed cum se Brutum esse meminisset vestraeque libertati natum, non otio suo, quid egit aliud, nisi ut paene corpore suo Gallia prohiberet Antonium? Ad hunc utrum legatos an legiones ire oportebat?

Sed praeterita omittamus; properent legati, quod video esse facturos; vos saga parate. Est enim ita decretum, ut, si ille auctoritati senatus non paruisset, ad saga iretur. Ibitur; non parebit; nos amissos tot dies rei gerendae queremur.

IV. Non metuo, Quirites, ne, cum audierit Antonius me hoc et in senatu et in contione confirmasse, numquam illum futurum in senatus potestate, refellendi mei causa, ut ego nihil vidisse videar, vertat se et senatui pareat. Numquam faciet; non invidebit huic meae gloriae; malet me sapientem a
10 vobis quam se modestum existimari. Quid? ipse si velit, num etiam Lucium fratrem passurum arbitramur? Nuper quidem dicitur ad Tibur, ut opinor, cum ei labare M. Antonius videretur, mortem fratri esse minitatus. Etiamne ab hoc myrmillone Asiatico senatus mandata, legatorum verba audientur? Nec enim secerni a fratre poterit, tanta praesertim auctoritate. Nam hic inter illos Africanus est; pluris habetur quam L. Trebellius, pluris quam T. Plancus[1] *** adulescens nobilis. Plancum, qui omni-

[1] The Vat. MS. is a mass of confusion after Plancus' name. Then come the words "*cum exibuerit.*" The true reading is hopelessly lost.

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[1] See n. 1, p. 276.
[2] *i.e.* a great man. P. Scipio Africanus was the conqueror of Hannibal.
[3] The reading here is hopelessly lost.

been the first to give his vote in this our body until he took up his office? What difficulty was there? But as he remembered he was a Brutus, and one born to the service of your liberty, not of his own ease, what else did he do but—almost by his own body—bar Antonius from Gaul? Should envoys or rather legions have been sent this man?

But let us waive the past; let the envoys hasten, as I see they will do; do you get ready the garb of war. For it has been so decreed that, if he does not bow to the authority of the Senate, we must come to the garb of war. We shall; he will not bow, and we shall lament the loss of so many days for action.

IV. I am not afraid, Romans, when Antonius hears that I have in the Senate and at a public meeting given my assurance that he will never put himself under the government of the Senate, that, in order to refute me, and convict me of want of foresight, he will change his ways and obey the Senate. He will never do it; he will not grudge me this honour; he will prefer that you should deem me wise than that you should think him modest. Besides, even if he were willing himself, do we think his brother Lucius would ever suffer it? Recently indeed he is said—at Tibur, I think—when Antonius appeared to him to be weakening, to have threatened his brother with death. Will the commands of the Senate and the words of the envoys be really listened to by this myrmillo[1] from Asia? For he cannot be separated from his brother, especially as he carries such weight. For he is an Africanus[2] among them; he is held of more account than Lucius Trebellius, of more account than Titus Plancus. . . . a noble youth.[3] As to Plancus, who, after being condemned

bus sententiis maximo vestro plausu condemnatus nescio quo modo se coniecit in turbam atque ita maestus rediit, ut retractus, non reversus videretur, sic contemnit, tamquam si illi aqua et igni interdictum sit; aliquando negat ei locum esse oportere in curia,
11 qui incenderit curiam. Nam Trebellium valde iam diligit; oderat tum, cum ille tabulis novis adversabatur; iam fert in oculis, posteaquam ipsum Trebellium vidit sine tabulis novis salvum esse non posse. Audisse enim vos arbitror, Quirites, quod etiam videre potuistis, cotidie sponsores et creditores L. Trebelli convenire. O Fide! (hoc enim opinor Trebellium sumpsisse cognomen) quae potest esse maior fides quam fraudare creditores, domo profugere, propter aes alienum ire ad arma? Ubi plausus ille in triumpho est, saepe ludis, ubi aedilitas delata summo studio bonorum? Quis est, qui hunc non casu existimet recte fecisse, nequitia sceleste?[1]

12 V. Sed redeo ad amores deliciasque vestras, L. Antonium, qui vos omnes in fidem suam recepit. Negatis? Numquisnam est vestrum, qui tribum non habeat? Certe nemo. Atqui illum quinque et triginta tribus patronum adoptarunt. Rursus reclamatis? Aspicite illam a sinistra equestrem

[1] So Halm follg. Nipperdey; *scelerate* (Klotz); *nequitia est scelere* (Vat. MS.).

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[1] Of recalled exiles.
[2] The severest form of banishment, making a man an outlaw.
[3] P. had been convicted of complicity in the riot that followed the funeral of Cicero's enemy, P. Clodius, in which the Senate-house was burnt. He had been recalled from banishment by J. Caesar.

unanimously and with your loudest applause, somehow or other threw himself among the crowd,[1] and returned so sorrowful that he seemed to have been tugged back, and not to have returned—Antonius so despises him as if he had been interdicted water and fire;[2] sometimes he says that a man who set fire to the Senate-house[3] should have no place in the Senate. For as to Trebellius, he now loves him well: he hated him when he opposed the cancellation of debts; but now he is the apple of his eye ever since he has seen that Trebellius himself cannot without cancellation of debts save himself. For I think, Romans, you have heard—you might even have seen—that Trebellius' sureties and creditors are holding meetings every day. O Faithful![4]—for this surname Trebellius has, I think, assumed—what greater proof of faith can there be than in cheating your creditors, flying from your house, because of debt resorting to arms? Where is the praise he won at a triumph and often at the Games?[5] where is the aedileship conferred with the greatest enthusiasm of good men? Who is there that does not think this man acted well by chance, wickedly by his own depravity?

V. But I return to your love and your darling, Lucius Antonius, who has taken all of you under his charge. Do you deny it? is there any of you that has no tribe? Assuredly no one. And yet the five-and thirty tribes have adopted him as their patron. Do you again shout "No"? Look at that gilt

[4] Cf. *Phil.* xiii. 12, where T. is called *Fidei patronus*. *A cognomen* is a name added to mark some personal quality.
[5] Because he had opposed the cancellation of debts. His presence during some other man's triumph, or at the Games, seems to have been applauded.

statuam inauratam, in qua quid inscriptum est? "QUINQUE ET TRIGINTA TRIBUS PATRONO." Populi Romani igitur est patronus L. Antonius. Malam quidem illi pestem! clamori enim vestro adsentior. Non modo hic latro, quem clientem habere nemo velit, sed quis umquam tantis opibus, tantis rebus gestis fuit, qui se populi Romani victoris dominique
13 omnium gentium patronum dicere auderet? In foro L. Antoni statuam videmus, sicut illam Q. Tremuli, qui Hernicos devicit, ante Castoris. O impudentiam incredibilem! Tantumne sibi sumpsit, quia Mylasis myrmillo Thraecem iugulavit familiarem suum? Quonam modo istum ferre possemus, si in hoc foro spectantibus vobis depugnasset?

Sed haec una statua; altera ab equitibus Romanis equo publico, qui item ascribunt "PATRONO." Quem umquam iste ordo patronum adoptavit? Si quemquam, debuit me. Sed me omitto; quem censorem, quem imperatorem? "Agrum iis divisit." O sordidos, qui acceperint, improbum, qui dederit!

14 Statuerunt etiam tribuni militares, qui in exercitu Caesaris bis fuerunt. Quis est iste ordo? Multi fuerunt multis in legionibus per tot annos. Iis quoque divisit Semurium. Campus Martius restabat, nisi prius cum fratre fugisset. Sed haec agrorum adsignatio paulo ante, Quirites, L. Caesaris, clarissimi viri et praestantissimi senatoris, sententia dissoluta

[1] See n. 1, p. 276. The subject is also mentioned in *Phil.* iii. 12 and vii. 6.
[2] *i.e.* furnished by the State.

equestrian statue on the left: what is its inscription? "The five-and-thirty tribes to their patron." The Roman people's patron then is Lucius Antonius. May evil plagues fall on him! for I agree with your shouts. To say nothing of this brigand whom no one would choose as a client, who at any time has been so powerful, so illustrious in achievement as to dare to call himself the patron of the Roman people, the conqueror and lord of all nations? In the forum we see the statue of Lucius Antonius, as we see that of Quintus Tremulus who conquered the Hernicans in front of the Temple of Castor. What incredible impudence! Has he taken so much on himself because at Mylasa as a myrmillo[1] he cut the throat of a Thracian gladiator, his own comrade? How could we have borne with him if he had fought in this forum before your eyes?

But this is one statue; a second has been erected by the knights with public horses[2]: they also add the inscription "To our patron." Whom has that order ever adopted as its patron? if anyone, they should have adopted me. But I say nothing of myself; what censor? what general has it adopted? "He divided lands among them." How mean the receivers! how unscrupulous the giver!

Those who had been military tribunes twice in the army of Caesar erected another. What class of men is that? There were many in many legions during so many years. Amongst them he has also divided the Semurian land. The Plain of Mars remained, but he fled with his brother too soon. But this assignment of lands, Romans, has been abrogated on the proposal of Lucius Caesar, a most illustrious man and distinguished Senator; for,

est; huic enim adsensi septemvirum acta sustulimus; iacent beneficia Nuculae, friget patronus Antonius. Nam possessores animo aequiore discedent; nullam impensam fecerant, nondum instruxerant, partim quia non confidebant, partim quia non habebant.
15 Sed illa statua palmaris, de qua, si meliora tempora essent, non possem sine risu dicere: "L. ANTONIO A IANO MEDIO PATRONO." Itane? Ianus medius in L. Antoni clientela est? Quis umquam in illo Iano inventus est qui L. Antonio mille nummum ferret expensum?

VI. Sed nimis multa de nugis; ad causam bellumque redeamus; quamquam non alienum fuit personas quasdam a vobis recognosci, ut, quibuscum bellum gereretur, possetis taciti cogitare.

Ego autem vos hortor, Quirites, ut, etiamsi melius aliud fuit, tamen legatorum reditum expectetis animo aequo. Celeritas detracta de causa est, boni tamen
16 aliquid accessit ad causam. Cum enim legati renuntiarint, quod certe renuntiabunt, non in vestra potestate, non in senatus esse Antonium, quis erit tam improbus civis, qui illum civem habendum putet? Nunc enim sunt pauci illi quidem, sed tamen plures quam re publica dignum est, qui ita loquantur: "Ne legatos quidem expectabimus?" Istam certe vocem simulationemque clementiae extorquebit istis res ipsa. Quo etiam, ut confitear vobis, Quirites, minus hodierno die contendi, minus laboravi, ut mihi senatus adsentiens tumultum decerneret, saga sumi

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[1] A commission for the division of lands in the Leontine territory and in Campania among the veterans. Their acts were annulled, their appointment having been procured by violence: cf *Phil.* xi. 6. 13.

[2] A septemvir: cf. *Phil.* viii. 9. 26.

agreeing with his motion, we have annulled the acts of the septemvirs;[1] the favours of Nucula[2] are at a discount; Antonius' patronage market is flat. For the occupiers will depart with equanimity; they have gone to no expense; have not yet stocked the land, some because they had no confidence, some because they had no money. But one statue takes the palm: if the times had been better, I could not without a laugh have quoted: "From the Exchange to Lucius Antonius its patron." So? The Exchange is part of the clientèle of Lucius Antonius? Who in that Exchange has ever been discovered to debit Lucius Antonius with a thousand sesterces?

VI. But I have spoken enough on trifles: let us return to our subject and to the war; though it was not inapposite that you should recognise certain characters, to enable you in your minds to consider with whom you were at war.

I urge you, Romans, even though a different course had been wiser, yet to wait with equanimity for the return of the envoys. Our cause has lost promptitude of action, yet some good has accrued to our cause. For when the envoys report—as they certainly will report—that Antonius is not under your government and that of the Senate, who will be so unworthy a citizen as to think that man should be regarded as a fellow-citizen? For now there are some, few indeed, yet more than becomes the State, that speak thus: "Shall we not even wait for the envoys?" Assuredly events themselves will wrest from them that catchword and pretence of clemency. On that account—to confess it to you, Romans—I was less earnest, less insistent to-day, that the Senate should agree with me and decree a state of tumult,

iuberet; malui viginti diebus post sententiam meam laudari ab omnibus quam a paucis hodie vitu-
17 perari. Quapropter, Quirites, exspectate legatorum reditum et paucorum dierum molestiam devorate. Qui cum redierint, si pacem adferent, cupidum me, si bellum, providum indicatote. An ego non provideam meis civibus, non dies noctesque de vestra libertate, de rei publicae salute cogitem? Quid enim non debeo vobis, Quirites, quem vos a se ortum hominibus nobilissimis omnibus honoribus praetulistis? An ingratus sum? Quis minus? qui partis honoribus eosdem in foro gessi labores quos petendis. Rudis in re publica? Quis exercitatior? qui viginti iam annos bellum geram cum impiis civibus.

18 VII. Quam ob rem, Quirites, consilio, quantum potero, labore plus paene, quam potero, excubabo vigilaboque pro vobis. Etenim quis est civis, praesertim hoc gradu, quo me vos esse voluistis, tam oblitus beneficii vestri, tam immemor patriae, tam inimicus dignitatis suae, quem non excitet, non inflammet tantus vester iste consensus? Multas magnasque habui consul contiones, multis interfui; nullam umquam vidi tantam, quanta nunc vestrum est. Unum sentitis omnes, unum studetis, M. Antoni conatus avertere a re publica, furorem extinguere, opprimere audaciam. Idem volunt omnes ordines, eodem incumbunt municipia, coloniae, cuncta

and order the assumption of military garb; I preferred that twenty days hence my opinion should be commended by all rather than abused to-day by a few. Wherefore, Romans, await the return of the envoys and swallow down your annoyance of a few days. When they return, if they shall bring peace, then you may consider me to have been a partial witness; if war, foreseeing. Should I not be foreseeing for my fellow-citizens? should I not day and night study your liberty, and the safety of the State? For what do I not owe you, Romans, I, a man of no lineage, whom you have preferred for all honours before the noblest men? Am I ungrateful? Who is less so than I, who, after my honours have been won, have spent the same labour in the forum as when I was seeking them? Inexperienced in State affairs? Who is more versed than I? who now for the twentieth year am waging war against disloyal citizens.

VII. Wherefore, Romans, with advice to the extent of my power, with toil almost beyond my power, I will stand sentry and keep watch on your behalf. For who is the citizen, and that too of such position as it has been your pleasure that I should hold, so forgetful of your kindness, so unmindful of his country, so unfriendly to his own dignity, as not to be stirred, not to be fired by such unanimity on your part? Many great public meetings have I held as consul, at many have I been present; none so great have I ever seen as yours to-day. You all have one opinion, one object, to avert from the State the attacks of Marcus Antonius, to quench his frenzy, to crush his audacity. All orders wish the same: to the same object are bent the boroughs,

Italia. Itaque senatum bene sua sponte firmum
19 firmiorem vestra auctoritate fecistis. Venit tempus, Quirites, serius omnino, quam dignum populo Romano fuit, sed tamen ita maturum, ut differri iam hora non possit. Fuit aliquis fatalis casus, ut ita dicam, quem tulimus, quoquo modo ferendus fuit; nunc si quis erit, erit voluntarius. Populum Romanum servire fas non est, quem di immortales omnibus gentibus imperare voluerunt. Res in extremum est adducta discrimen; de libertate decernitur. Aut vincatis oportet, Quirites, quod profecto et pietate vestra et tanta concordia consequemini, aut quidvis potius quam serviatis. Aliae nationes servitutem pati possunt, populi Romani est propria libertas.

the colonies, the whole of Italy. Thus you have made the Senate, already firm in its own determination, firmer by your support. The time has come, citizens, later altogether than befitted the Roman people, yet one so ripe that it cannot now be delayed an hour. There has befallen a calamity, ordained, so to speak, by Fate, which we have borne as we could; if any shall come now it will be of our own choice. That the Roman people should be slaves is contrary to divine law; the immortal Gods have willed it to rule all nations. Matters have been brought to the utmost crisis; the issue is liberty. You must either win victory, Romans, which assuredly you will achieve by your loyalty and such unanimity; or do anything rather than be slaves. Other nations can endure slavery; the assured possession of the Roman people is liberty.

INTRODUCTION TO PHILIPPIC VII

During the absence of the envoys Antonius continued to press on the siege of Mutina. In the meantime his partisans, headed by Calenus, attempted to obviate his anticipated refusal by inventing on his behalf answers to the demands of the Senate by way of proving his moderation and so forcing a compromise. And Calenus showed letters the terms of which were likely to bring about that result and to encourage the Antonian party.

Some time in January the consuls convened the Senate to consider certain trivial matters. On this occasion Cicero, taking advantage of the rules of debate which did not confine speakers to the matter before the House, delivered his seventh Philippic.

He referred to the embassy which was quenching the public enthusiasm, and to the manœuvres of Antonius' friends. Though he himself was a lover of peace, he protested that there could be no peace with Antonius. Peace would be dishonourable, dangerous, and in fact impossible. It was dishonourable, as showing inconsistency and want of firmness on the part of the Senate when they had in effect by their decrees declared Antonius to be an enemy; dangerous that Antonius should, after all his crimes, sit as a consular in that House; impossible because there could be no real peace between Antonius and the boroughs, and Caesar, and Brutus, and the people generally. Antonius must yield; if not, he had declared war on the Roman people. Their liberty was at stake. And, appealing to Pansa, he said that he had now an opportunity of freeing the State from danger.

M. TULLI CICERONIS IN M. ANTONIUM ORATIO PHILIPPICA SEPTIMA

1 I. Parvis de rebus, sed fortasse necessariis consulimur, patres conscripti. De Appia via et de Moneta consul, de Lupercis tribunus pl. refert. Quarum rerum etsi facilis explicatio videtur, tamen animus aberrat a sententia suspensus curis maioribus. Adducta est enim, patres conscripti, res in maximum periculum et in extremum paene discrimen. Non sine causa legatorum istam missionem semper timui, numquam probavi. Quorum reditus quid sit adlaturus, ignoro, exspectatio quidem quantum adferat languoris animis, quis non videt? Non enim se tenent ii, qui senatum dolent ad auctoritatis pristinae spem revirescere, coniunctum huic ordini populum Romanum, conspirantem Italiam, paratos
2 exercitus, expeditos duces. Iam nunc fingunt responsa Antoni eaque defendunt. Alii postulare illum, ut omnes exercitus dimittantur. Scilicet legatos ad eum misimus, non ut pareret et dicto audiens esset huic ordini, sed ut condiciones ferret, leges imponeret, reserare nos exteris gentibus Italiam iuberet, se praesertim incolumi, a quo maius periculum quam ab ullis nationibus extimescendum est.

THE SEVENTH PHILIPPIC OF M. TULLIUS CICERO AGAINST M. ANTONIUS

I. We are consulted, Conscript Fathers, on a small, but perhaps an imperative, subject; the consul makes a motion about the Appian Way and the Mint, the tribune about the Luperci. The arrangement of such matters seems an easy one, yet the mind, being in suspense because of greater cares, wanders from the question in debate. For things have been brought, Conscript Fathers, into the greatest peril, and almost into an extreme crisis. It is not without cause that I have always feared, and never approved, that sending of the envoys. What their return is likely to bring us I do not know; but who does not see what a supineness of mood the waiting for them induces? For there is no holding back among those who lament that, in the hope of recovering its ancient authority, the Senate is renewing its youth, that the Roman people is in alliance with this our order, that Italy co-operates, that our armies are prepared, and our commanders ready. Even now they invent replies from Antonius, and defend them. Some allege that he demands the dismissal of all armies. Of a surety we have sent envoys to him, not that he should obey and give ear to the commands of this body, but that he should offer terms, impose laws, and bid us throw Italy open to foreign nations! and that too while he is himself safe, from whom greater danger is to be dreaded than from any nations.

3 Alii remittere eum nobis Galliam citeriorem, illam ultimam postulare. Praeclare; ex qua non legiones solum, sed etiam nationes ad urbem conetur adducere? Alii nihil eum iam nisi modeste postulare. Macedoniam suam vocat omnino, quoniam Gaius frater est inde revocatus. Sed quae provincia est, ex qua illa fax excitare non possit incendium? Itaque idem quasi providi cives et senatores diligentes bellicum me cecinisse dicunt; suscipiunt pacis patrocinium. Nonne sic disputant? "Inritatum Antonium non oportuit; nequam est homo ille atque confidens; multi praeterea improbi" (quos quidem a se primum numerare possunt, qui haec locuntur); eos cavendos esse denuntiant. Utrum igitur in nefariis civibus ulciscendi, cum possis, an pertimescendi diligentior cautio est?

4 II. Atque haec ii locuntur, qui quondam propter levitatem populares habebantur. Ex quo intellegi potest animo illos abhorruisse semper ab optimo civitatis statu, non voluntate fuisse populares. Qui enim evenit, ut, qui in rebus improbis populares fuerint, idem in re una maxime populari, quod eadem salutaris rei publicae sit, improbos se quam popularis esse malint? Me quidem semper, uti scitis, adversarium multitudinis temeritati haec fecit
5 praeclarissima causa popularem. Et quidem dicuntur

[1] Caius had been illegally allotted Mac. on Nov. 28, 44 B.C. (*Phil.* iii. 10), and was recalled in consequence of the decree of Dec. (*ibid.* 15). The assignment to Marcus on June 1 was therefore claimed as having again become valid.

[2] C. means that, in the case of traitors, punishment is better than precautions.

[3] *i.e.* popularity-hunters, the *cives populares* of *Phil.* i. 15. C. is alluding to the friends of A. in the Senate.

Others allege he resigns to us Hither Gaul, and demands for himself the Further. Very fine! so that from it he may attempt to march to the city, not merely legions, but even nations. Others that his demands are now wholly modest. Macedonia he calls his own entirely since his brother Gaius has been recalled from it.[1] But what province is there out of which that firebrand cannot raise a conflagration? So these same advocates, in the rôle of foresighted citizens and diligent Senators, say that I have sounded the trumpet of war: they take on themselves the defence of peace. Don't they argue thus? "Antonius should not have been provoked; he is a worthless man and a headstrong; there are many unscrupulous men besides"—those that say this can begin their count with themselves—and it is against them that they warn us to take precautions. Which course then, when you are dealing with traitorous citizens, shows the more prudent caution? to punish them when you can, or to be afraid of them?[2]

II. And those who say this are men who, on account of their levity, were formerly called democrats.[3] From this it can be understood that in their hearts they abhorred the sound constitution of the State, and were not democrats from inclination. For how does it happen that men who were democrats in the case of wrong measures, in a matter especially democratic, as tending also to the safety of the State, yet prefer to be unscrupulous rather than democratic? As for myself, though I have always been, as you know, opposed to the rashness of the crowd, this most excellent cause has made me a democrat. And indeed they are called, or

vel potius se ipsi dicunt consulares; quo nomine dignus est nemo, nisi qui tanti honoris nomen potest sustinere. Faveas tu hosti? ille litteras ad te mittat de sua spe rerum secundarum? eas tu laetus proferas, recites, describendas etiam des improbis civibus, eorum augeas animos, bonorum spem virtutemque debilites et te consularem aut senatorem, denique civem putes? Accipiet in optimam partem C. Pansa, fortissimus consul atque optimus. Etenim dicam animo amicissimo: Hunc ipsum mihi hominem familiarissimum, nisi talis consul esset, ut omnes vigilias, curas, cogitationes in rei publicae salute
6 defigeret, consulem non putarem. Quamquam nos ab ineunte illius aetate usus, consuetudo, studiorum etiam honestissimorum societas similitudoque devinxit, eiusdemque cura incredibilis in asperrimis belli civilis periculis perspecta docuit non modo salutis, sed etiam dignitatis meae fuisse fautorem, tamen eundem, ut dixi, nisi talis esset consul, negare esse consulem auderem. Idem non modo consulem esse dico, sed etiam memoria mea praestantissimum atque optimum consulem. Non quin pari virtute et voluntate alii fuerint, sed tantam causam non habuerunt, in qua et voluntatem suam
7 et virtutem declararent; huius magnitudini animi, gravitati, sapientiae tempestas est oblata formidolosissimi temporis. Tum autem inlustratur consulatus, cum gubernat rem publicam si non optabili,

rather they call themselves, consulars; a name of which no man is worthy that cannot by his conduct support so honourable a title. Are you, Sir, to favour the enemy? Is he to send you letters about his hopes of success? Are you joyfully to produce them, read them aloud, even hand them to dishonest citizens to copy; are you to strengthen their spirits, to weaken the hopes and the virtue of loyal men, and yet deem yourself a consular, or a Senator, nay, even a citizen? Caius Pansa, our most gallant and excellent consul, will take in good part what I say. For with the most friendly feelings I shall say this: Even in his case, despite our close intimacy, unless he were such a consul as devoted all his vigilance, his cares, his thoughts to the safety of the State, I would not account him a consul. Although from his opening manhood acquaintance, habit, association too and affinity with me in the most honourable pursuits have bound us together, and his astonishing promptitude, fully proved in the sternest perils of civil war, has shown him to be the protector, not only of my life, but also of my honour, yet, as I have said, if he were not such a consul, I would venture to say he is no consul. But I say he is not merely a consul, but also, of all those I remember, the most illustrious and loyal consul. Not that others have not been of the like virtue and inclination, but they had no such great opening for showing their inclination and virtue; upon him, with his greatness of mind, strength of character and wisdom, has been brought the storm of a most perilous crisis. And a consulship is then ennobled when it is taking the helm of the State, if not at a time to be wished for, yet

at necessario tempore. Magis autem necessarium, patres conscripti, nullum tempus umquam fuit.

III. Itaque ego ille, qui semper pacis auctor fui, cuique pax, praesertim civilis, quamquam omnibus bonis, tamen in primis fuit optabilis (omne enim curriculum industriae nostrae in foro, in curia, in amicorum periculis propulsandis elaboratum est; hinc honores amplissimos, hinc mediocres opes, hinc dignitatem, si quam habemus, consecuti sumus)—
8 ego igitur pacis, ut ita dicam, alumnus, qui quantuscumque sum (nihil enim mihi adrogo), sine pace civili certe non fuissem (periculose dico; quem ad modum accepturi, patres conscripti, sitis, horreo, sed pro mea perpetua cupiditate vestrae dignitatis retinendae et augendae quaeso oroque vos, patres conscripti, ut primo, etsi erit vel acerbum auditu vel incredibile a M. Cicerone esse dictum, accipiatis sine offensione, quod dixero, neve id, priusquam, quale sit, explicaro, repudietis)—ego ille (dicam saepius) pacis semper laudator, semper auctor pacem cum M. Antonio esse nolo. Magna spe ingredior in reliquam orationem, patres conscripti, quoniam periculosissimum locum silentio sum praetervectus.

9 Cur igitur pacem nolo? Quia turpis est, quia periculosa, quia esse non potest. Quae tria dum explico, peto a vobis, patres conscripti, ut eadem benignitate, qua soletis, mea verba audiatis.

Quid est inconstantia, levitate, mobilitate cum singulis hominibus, tum vero universo senatui tur-

[1] This passage was quoted by Pitt in the House of Commons on Feb. 3, 1800, with the substitution of "*infida*" for "*turpis*": Cobbett's *Parl. Hist.* 34. 1349.

at an urgent time. And more urgent, Conscript Fathers, no time has ever been.

III. I, therefore, who have always been a promoter of peace, and to whom peace, above all domestic peace, however dear to all loyal men, has been pre-eminently dear—for the whole course of my activity has been spent in the forum, in the Senate-house, in repelling danger from my friends; from this source I have won the fullest honours, moderate wealth, and such rank as I possess—I then, the nursling, so to speak, of peace, who certainly would not have been even such as I am—I arrogate nothing to myself—without domestic peace —I speak at my peril: I shrink from the thought how you will take it, Conscript Fathers, but, considering my unfaltering desire to maintain and to increase your dignity, I ask, I beseech you, Conscript Fathers, however bitter or incredible it may be to hear it said by Marcus Cicero, first to take without offence what I shall say, and not to reject it before I explain its meaning—I—I will say it again—I, who have always been the panegyrist, always the promoter of peace, refuse to support a peace with Marcus Antonius. I enter with great hope upon the rest of my speech, Conscript Fathers, as I have passed by amid your silence the most dangerous point.

Why then do I refuse to support peace? Because it is disgraceful, because it is dangerous, because it is impossible.[1] And while I explain these three propositions, I ask you, Conscript Fathers, to hear my words with your usual kindness.

What is more disgraceful, not only in individuals, but especially in the Senate as a body, than incon-

pius? quid porro inconstantius quam, quem modo hostem non verbo, sed re multis decretis iudicaritis,
10 cum hoc subito pacem velle coniungi? Nisi vero, cum C. Caesari meritos illi quidem honores et debitos, sed tamen singulares et immortales decrevistis unam ob causam, quod contra M. Antonium exercitum comparavisset, non hostem tum Antonium iudicavistis, nec tum hostis est a vobis iudicatus Antonius, cum laudati auctoritate vestra veterani milites, qui C. Caesarem secuti essent, nec tum hostem Antonium iudicastis, cum fortissimis legionibus, quod illum, qui consul appellabatur, cum esset hostis, reliquissent, vacationes, pecunias, agros spopondistis.

11 IV. Quid? cum Brutum omine quodam illius generis et nominis natum ad rem publicam liberandam, exercitumque eius pro libertate populi Romani bellum gerentem cum Antonio, provinciamque fidelissimam atque optimam, Galliam, laudibus amplissimis adfecistis, tum non hostem iudicastis Antonium? Quid? cum decrevistis, ut consules, alter ambove, ad bellum proficiscerentur, quod erat bellum, si
12 hostis Antonius non erat? Quid igitur profectus est vir fortissimus, meus collega et familiaris, A. Hirtius consul? at qua inbecillitate, qua macie! Sed animi vires corporis infirmitas non retardavit; aequum, credo, putavit vitam, quam populi Romani votis retinuisset, pro libertate populi Romani in

sistency, fickleness, and unsteadiness? What, moreover, is more inconsistent than suddenly to wish for the making of peace with a man whom you have just now by many decrees, not in word only, but in fact, adjudged an enemy? But perhaps, when you decreed honours to Caius Caesar, honours that were indeed his desert and his due, but none the less were extraordinary and ever memorable, for the single reason that he has got together an army against Marcus Antonius, you did not then adjudge Antonius an enemy? and Antonius was not then adjudged an enemy when by your authority the veteran soldiers that had followed Caius Caesar were commended? and you did not then adjudge Antonius an enemy when to gallant legions, because they had deserted a man who was called a consul though he was an enemy, you promised exemptions from service, money, and lands?

IV. Again, in the case of Brutus, a man born under some augury of his race and name for the liberation of the State, and of his army waging war with Antonius for the liberty of the Roman people, and of the most faithful and loyal province of Gaul, when you honoured them with the most generous praise, did you not then adjudge Antonius an enemy? Again, when you decreed that the consuls, one or both of them, should set out to war, what was the war if Antonius was not an enemy? Why then has that bravest of men, my colleague and friend, Aulus Hirtius, the consul, set out? and in spite of what weakness, what waste of body! But the infirmity of his body did not slacken the vigour of his mind; he thought it right, I suppose, to risk on behalf of the liberty of the Roman people the life that had

13 discrimen adducere. Quid? cum dilectus haberi tota Italia iussistis, cum vacationes omnes sustulistis, tum ille hostis non est iudicatus? Armorum officinas in urbe videtis, milites cum gladiis secuntur consulem, praesidio sunt specie consuli, re et veritate nobis, omnes sine ulla recusatione, summo etiam cum studio nomina dant, parent auctoritati vestrae; non est iudicatus hostis Antonius?

14 "At legatos misimus." Heu me miserum! cur senatum cogor, quem laudavi semper, reprehendere? Quid? vos censetis, patres conscripti, legatorum missionem populo Romano vos probavisse? non intellegitis, non auditis meam sententiam flagitari? Cui cum pridie frequentes essetis adsensi, postridie ad spem estis inanem pacis devoluti. Quam turpe porro legiones ad senatum legatos mittere, senatum ad Antonium! Quamquam illa legatio non est, denuntiatio est paratum illi exitium, nisi paruerit huic ordini. Quid refert? tamen opinio est gravior. Missos enim legatos omnes vident, decreti nostri non omnes verba noverunt.

V. Retinenda est igitur nobis constantia, gravitas, perseverantia, repetenda vetus illa severitas, siquidem auctoritas senatus decus, honestatem, laudem dignitatemque desiderat, quibus rebus hic ordo caruit nimium diu. Sed erat tum excusatio oppressis misera illa quidem, sed tamen iusta; nunc nulla est.

[1] Jan. 4, the last day of the debate, when the fifth Phil. was delivered. The Senate had previously supported C. (*Phil.* vi. 3).

[2] Nothing is known of this embassy from A.'s legions.

been preserved through their prayers. Again, when you commanded levies to be held throughout all Italy, when you withdrew all exemptions from service, was he not adjudged an enemy then? You see in the city forges of arms; soldiers sword in hand follow the consul; they are a guard in appearance for the consul, in fact and truth for us; all men, without any excuses, with the greatest enthusiasm even, are giving in their names; they submit to your authority. Has not Antonius been adjudged an enemy?

"But we have sent envoys." Alas, unhappy me! why am I forced to chide the Senate which I have always praised? What! do you think, Conscript Fathers, you have made the dispatch of envoys acceptable to the people? do you not understand, do you not hear, that it is my policy that is demanded? The day before you accepted it in a crowded session, the next day [1] it was to an empty hope of peace you were cast down! Moreover, how disgraceful it is that legions [2] should send envoys to the Senate, and the Senate to Antonius! And yet that is not an "embassy"; it is a solemn warning that his doom is determined if he shall fail to obey this body. What does it matter? What the public thinks is yet the more serious thing; for that envoys have been sent all men see; the terms of our decree it is not all who know.

V. We must therefore maintain our consistency, our firmness, our perseverance; we must again assume our ancient sternness, if, that is, the authority of the Senate feels the lack of honour, of good name, of reputation and dignity, things this body has been without too long. But then in our oppression we had an excuse, a poor one indeed, yet adequate; now we

Liberati regio dominatu videbamur, multo postea gravius urguebamur armis domesticis. Ea ipsa depulimus nos quidem; extorquenda sunt. Quod si non possumus facere, (dicam, quod dignum est
15 senatore et Romano homine) moriamur. Quanta enim illa erit rei publicae turpitudo, quantum dedecus, quanta labes, dicere in hoc ordine sententiam M. Antonium consulari loco! cuius ut omittam innumerabilia scelera urbani consulatus, in quo pecuniam publicam maximam dissipavit, exules sine lege restituit, vectigalia divendidit, provincias de populi Romani imperio sustulit, regna addixit pecunia, leges civitati per vim imposuit, armis aut opsedit aut exclusit senatum: ut haec, inquam, omittam, ne hoc quidem cogitatis, eum, qui Mutinam, coloniam populi Romani firmissimam, oppugnarit, imperatorem populi Romani, consulem designatum, opsederit, depopulatus agros sit, hunc in eum ordinem recipi, a quo totiens ob has ipsas causas hostis iudicatus sit, quam foedum flagitiosumque sit?

16 Satis multa de turpitudine. Dicam deinceps, ut proposui, de periculo; quod etsi minus est fugiendum quam turpitudo, tamen offendit animos maioris partis hominum magis.

VI. Poteritis igitur exploratam habere pacem, cum in civitate Antonium videbitis vel potius Antonios? Nisi forte contemnitis Lucium; ego ne Gaium

[1] By the death of Caesar.
[2] By Antonius' presence in Rome.

have none. From kingly tyranny we seemed to have been rescued;[1] afterwards we were still harder pressed by the weapons of domestic war.[2] Even those we have, it is true, parried; they must now be wrested from the grasp. If we cannot do this—I will speak as becomes a Senator and a Roman—let us die. For what a disgrace will that be to the State, what a dishonour, what a stain, that Marcus Antonius should in this body give his vote on consular benches! To say nothing of the innumerable crimes of his consulship in the city, during which he has dissipated an immense sum of public moneys, has illegally restored exiles, has hawked up and down revenues, has taken provinces out of the jurisdiction of the Roman people, has assigned kingdoms for money, has imposed on the community laws by violence, has either besieged or shut out the Senate with armed men—to say nothing of these things, I say, do you not even consider this? What a foul and outrageous crime it would be that the man who has attacked Mutina, a most staunch colony of the Roman people; has besieged a general of the Roman people, a consul elect; has devastated lands—that *he* should be received into that body by which he has been for these very reasons so often adjudged an enemy?

But enough of disgrace. I will speak next, as I have proposed, of the danger. Though we should shrink from it less than from disgrace, yet it affects the minds of the majority of men more.

VI. Will you then be able to possess assured peace when you see in the community Antonius or rather Antoniuses? But perhaps you despise Lucius; I do not despise even Gaius. But, as I

quidem. Sed, ut video, dominabitur Lucius; est enim patronus quinque et triginta tribuum, quarum sua lege, qua cum C. Caesare magistratus partitus est, suffragium sustulit, patronus centuriarum equitum Romanorum, quas item sine suffragio esse voluit, patronus eorum, qui tribuni militares fuerunt, patro-
17 nus Iani medii. Quis huius potentiam poterit sustinere, praesertim cum eosdem in agros etiam deduxerit? quis umquam omnes tribus, quis equites Romanos, quis tribunos militares? Gracchorum potentiam maiorem fuisse arbitramini, quam huius gladiatoris futura sit? quem gladiatorem non ita appellavi, ut interdum etiam M. Antonius gladiator appellari solet, sed ut appellant ii, qui plane et Latine locuntur. Myrmillo in Asia depugnavit. Cum ornasset thraecidicis comitem et familiarem suum, illum miserum fugientem iugulavit, luculentam tamen ipse plagam accepit, ut declarat cicatrix.
18 Qui familiarem iugularit, quid is occasione data faciet inimico? et qui illud animi causa fecerit, hunc praedae causa quid facturum putatis? Non rursus improbos decuriabit, non sollicitabit rursus agrarios, non queretur expulsos? M. vero Antonius non is erit, ad quem omni motu concursus fiat civium perditorum? Ut nemo sit alius nisi ii, qui una sunt, et ii, qui hic ei nunc aperte favent, parumne erunt multi, praesertim cum bonorum praesidia discesserint,

[1] Giving J. Caesar the right of nominating the magistrates.

[2] For this description of L. cf. *Phil.* vi. 5.

[3] A *Thrax* was a kind of light-armed gladiator generally matched with a *myrmillo* (as to whom cf. n. 1, p. 276): cf. Aus. *Idyl.* 12: *Quis myrmilloni committitur aequimanus? Thrax.*

perceive, Lucius will be the dominant partner; for he is the patron of the five-and-thirty tribes, whose votes he took away by that law [1] of his under which he shared the offices with Caius Caesar; the patron of the centuries of Roman knights, whom also he wished to be without votes; the patron of those that had been military tribunes; the patron of the Exchange.[2] Who will be able to bear up against this man's power, above all when he shall have also planted these same clients on the land? Who ever had as clients all the tribes? the Roman knights? the military tribunes? Do you imagine that the power of the Gracchi was greater than this gladiator's will be? whom I have called a gladiator, not in the sense in which Marcus Antonius is often so called, but in the sense of those that speak plain Latin. He fought in Asia as a myrmillo. Having dressed up a comrade and friend in the trappings of a Thracian,[3] he cut that wretched man's throat as he was flying, but received himself, however, a tidy wound, as a scar shows. If he cut a friend's throat, what will he do, when he gets the chance, to an enemy? If he did that for sport, what do you think he will do for the sake of loot? Will he not again place rascals on the jury-panels? will he not again canvass those hungry for land; will he not bewail those evicted? But as to Marcus Antonius, will he not be the man to whom in every commotion rushes a throng of profligate citizens? Let it be granted there is no one else but those now with him, and those that here openly support him, will these not be numerous enough, especially when our supporters among honest citizens have been dispersed, while his will be in attendance on his

illi parati sint ad nutum futuri? Ego vero metuo,
si hoc tempore consilio lapsi erimus, ne illi brevi
19 tempore nimis multi nobis esse videantur. Nec ego
pacem nolo, sed pacis nomine bellum involutum re-
formido. Quare, si pace frui volumus, bellum
gerendum est; si bellum omittimus, pace numquam
fruemur.

VII. Est autem vestri consilii, patres conscripti,
in posterum quam longissime providere. Idcirco in
hac custodia et tamquam specula conlocati sumus,
uti vacuum metu populum Romanum nostra vigilia
et prospicientia redderemus. Turpe est summo
consilio orbis terrae, praesertim in re tam perspicua,
20 consilium intellegi defuisse. Eos consules habemus,
eam populi Romani alacritatem, eum consensum
Italiae, eos duces, eos exercitus, ut nullam calami-
tatem res publica accipere possit sine culpa senatus.
Equidem non deero; monebo, praedicam, denuntiabo,
testabor semper deos hominesque, quid sentiam, nec
solum fidem meam, quod fortasse videatur satis esse,
sed in principe civi non est satis, curam, consilium
vigilantiamque praestabo.

21 VIII. Dixi de periculo? docebo ne coagmentari
quidem posse pacem; de tribus enim, quae proposui,
hoc extremum est.

Quae potest pax esse M. Antonio primum cum senatu? quo ore vos ille poterit, quibus vicissim vos illum oculis intueri? quis vestrum illum, quem ille vestrum non oderit? Age, vos ille solum et vos

nod? For my part, I am afraid that, if to-day there shall be any mistake in our counsels, in a short time they will appear too many for us. I do not refuse peace, but war clothed with the name of peace I dread much. Wherefore, if we wish to enjoy peace, we must wage war; if we reject war we shall never enjoy peace.

VII. But it is your task, Conscript Fathers, sitting here in council to provide for the future as far ahead as possible. It is for that reason we have been posted on guard here in this watch-tower, as it were, that by our vigilance and foresight we might relieve the Roman people from fear. It is disgraceful that the world's supreme deliberative body should, especially in so patent a case, be understood to have failed in counsel. We have such consuls, such keenness of the Roman people, such agreement of Italy, such commanders, such armies, that the State cannot suffer any calamity without the fault of the Senate. For my part, I shall not fail: I shall warn, predict, denounce, call ever on Gods and men to witness my sentiments; and I will not only guarantee my good faith, which perhaps may seem enough, but in a leading citizen is not enough: I will guarantee my care, counsel, and vigilance.

VIII. I have spoken of the danger; I will show that peace cannot even be patched up, for this is the last of my three propositions.

What peace can there be, in the first place, between Marcus Antonius and the Senate? With what aspect can he regard you? With what eyes can you in your turn regard him? Who of you will not hate him? whom of you will he not hate? Come, is it only he who hates you, and you him?

illum? quid? ii, qui Mutinam circumsedent, qui in Gallia dilectus habent, qui in vestras fortunas imminent, amici umquam vobis erunt aut vos illis? An equites Romanos amplectetur? occulta enim fuit eorum voluntas iudiciumque de Antonio. Qui frequentissimi in gradibus Concordiae steterunt, qui nos ad libertatem recuperandam excitaverunt, arma, saga, bellum flagitaverunt, me una cum populo Romano in contionem vocaverunt, hi Antonium diligent et cum his pacem servabit Antonius?

22 Nam quid ego de universo populo Romano dicam? qui pleno ac referto foro bis me una mente atque voce in contionem vocavit declaravitque maximam libertatis recuperandae cupiditatem. Itaque erat optabile antea, ut populum Romanum comitem haberemus, nunc habemus ducem. Quae est igitur spes, qui Mutinam circumsedent, imperatorem populi Romani exercitumque oppugnant, iis pacem cum
23 populo Romano esse posse? An cum municipiis pax erit, quorum tanta studia cognoscuntur in decretis faciendis, militibus dandis, pecuniis pollicendis, ut in singulis oppidis curiam populi Romani non desideretis? Laudandi sunt ex huius ordinis sententia Firmani, qui principes pecuniae pollicendae fuerunt; respondendum honorifice est Marrucinis, qui ignominia notandos censuerunt eos, si qui militiam subterfugissent. Haec iam tota Italia fient. Magna pax Antonio cum iis, his item cum illo. Quae

[1] *i.e.* there is a Parliament in every borough.

What! will the besiegers of Mutina, those that held levies in Gaul, that threaten your fortunes, ever be your friends, or you theirs? Or will he take to his arms the Roman knights? for their feelings and opinion of Antonius have been unrevealed! The men who in densest ranks took their stand on the steps of Concord; who called on us to recover our liberty; who demanded arms, military garb, war; who summoned me together with the Roman people to a public meeting—will these men love Antonius, and will Antonius keep a peace with these?

For what am I to say of the entire Roman people, who in a full and a packed forum with one mind and voice twice summoned me to address them, and displayed the utmost desire to recover their liberty? So, whereas aforetime to have the Roman people on our side was the object of our prayers, we now have them as leaders. What hope then is there of any possible peace between the Roman people and the besiegers of Mutina, the men who attack a general and army of the Roman people? Will there be peace with the boroughs, whose great enthusiasm is recognised in the making of decrees, the supply of soldiers, and the promises of money, so that in each several town you do not fail to find a Senate of the Roman people?[1] The people of Firmium should be commended by resolutions of this our body: they led the way in promising money; we ought to acknowledge with honour the conduct of the Marrucinians, who determined that those should be branded with ignominy who evaded military service. These things will soon be done all over Italy. Great will be the peace between Antonius and these men, between

potest esse maior discordia? in discordia autem pax
24 civilis esse nullo pacto potest. Ut omittam multitudinem, L. Visidio, equiti Romano, homini in primis ornato atque honesto civique semper egregio, cuius ego excubias et custodias mei capitis cognovi in consulatu meo, qui vicinos suos non cohortatus est solum, ut milites fierent, sed etiam facultatibus suis sublevavit, huic, inquam, tali viro, quem nos senatus consulto conlaudare debemus, poteritne esse pacatus Antonius? Quid? C. Caesari, qui illum urbe, quid?
25 D. Bruto, qui Gallia prohibuit? Iam vero ipse se placabit et leniet provinciae Galliae, a qua expulsus et repudiatus est? Omnia videbitis, patres conscripti, nisi prospicitis, plena odiorum, plena discordiarum, ex quibus oriuntur bella civilia. Nolite igitur id velle, quod fieri non potest, et cavete, per deos immortales! patres conscripti, ne spe praesentis pacis perpetuam pacem amittatis.

26 IX. Quorsum haec omnis spectat oratio? quid enim legati egerint, nondum scimus. At vero excitati, erecti, parati, armati animis iam esse debemus, ne blanda aut supplici oratione aut aequitatis simulatione fallamur. Omnia fecerit oportet, quae interdicta et denuntiata sunt, priusquam aliquid postulet, Brutum exercitumque eius oppugnare, urbis et agros provinciae Galliae populari destiterit, ad Brutum adeundi legatis potestatem fecerit, exercitum citra flumen Rubiconem eduxerit nec propius urbem milia passuum ducenta

these too and Antony! What greater discord can there be? and in discord peace between citizens cannot anyhow exist. To say nothing of the many, there is Lucius Visidius, a Roman knight, a man especially accomplished and honourable, and as a citizen always admirable, whose watch and ward for my safety I recognised in my consulship: he not only encouraged his neighbours to become soldiers, but also assisted them with his own resources; to such a man, I say, whom we should commend by decree of the Senate, can Antonius ever be reconciled? or to Caius Caesar who kept him from the city? or to Decimus Brutus who kept him out of Gaul? Oh, but will he himself abate his anger, and show mercy to the province of Gaul by which he has been cast out and repudiated? You, Conscript Fathers, will see, unless you show foresight, a world full of hatreds, full of discords, and from these spring civil wars. Do not then wish for what cannot be, and take care in Heaven's name, Conscript Fathers, that you do not, in the hope of present peace, lose the peace that will endure.

IX. What is the object of my whole speech here? for we do not yet know what the envoys have effected. But by now we ought to be aroused, alert, ready, armed in spirit, so as not to be beguiled by some bland or submissive reply, or by a pretence of equity. He must concede all we have forbidden or enjoined before he makes any demand; cease to attack Brutus and his army and to waste the cities and territory of the Province of Gaul; give the envoys means of access to Brutus; draw off his own army to this side of the river Rubicon, and not move it nearer the city than two hundred miles;

admoverit, fuerit et in senatus et in populi Romani potestate. Haec si fecerit, erit integra potestas nobis deliberandi; si senatui non paruerit, non illi senatus, sed ille populo Romano bellum indixerit.

27 Sed vos moneo, patres conscripti: libertas agitur populi Romani, quae est commendata vobis, vita et fortunae optimi cuiusque, quo cupiditatem infinitam cum immani crudelitate iam pridem intendit Antonius, auctoritas vestra, quam nullam habebitis, nisi nunc tenueritis; taetram et pestiferam beluam ne inclusam et constrictam dimittatis, cavete! Te ipsum, Pansa, moneo (quamquam non eges consilio, quo vales plurimum, tamen etiam summi gubernatores in magnis tempestatibus a vectoribus admoneri solent), hunc tantum tuum apparatum tamque praeclarum ne ad nihilum recidere patiare. Tempus habes tale, quale nemo habuit umquam. Hac gravitate senatus, hoc studio equestris ordinis, hoc ardore populi Romani potes in perpetuum rem publicam metu et periculo liberare. Quibus de rebus refers, P. Servilio adsentior.

and be under the government of the Senate and Roman people. If he shall do this we shall be able to discuss matters afresh; if he shall prove disobedient to the Senate, the Senate will not have declared war against him, he will have declared it against the Roman people.

But you, Conscript Fathers, I remind of this: what is at stake is the liberty of the Roman people, which has been entrusted to your charge; the life and fortunes of every loyal citizen against which Antonius has long aimed an infinite avarice combined with monstrous cruelty; your own authority which you will find destroyed unless you maintain it now; take heed you do not let loose a savage and pestilent beast now you have him confined and chained. You personally, Pansa, I remind—though you need no counsel, for you are the surest of counsellors, still even the most competent helmsmen often do receive advice in great storms from passengers—do not allow those resources, those magnificent resources that you possess, to fall away to nothing. You have such an opportunity as no one has had at any time. By the help of this firm attitude of the Senate, this zeal of the equestrian order, this eagerness of the Roman people, you have it in your power to free the State for all time from fear and from peril. On the motion submitted I agree with Publius Servilius.

INTRODUCTION TO PHILIPPIC VIII

Towards the end of January the surviving envoys, L. Piso and L. Philippus (S. Servilius having died), returned from their mission to Antonius. The latter, having by the Senate's complaisance in sending an embassy not been treated as what he in fact was, a rebel, took advantage of this and propounded counter demands. These were that lands and moneys should be given to his troops, and that the grants previously made by him and Dolabella should be confirmed; that all the decrees based on Caesar's papers should stand; that there should be no enquiry as to the treasure taken from the Temple of Ops, nor into the conduct of the septemvirs or commission appointed to divide lands between the veterans; that his judicature laws should not be annulled; and that his followers should be granted an amnesty. In return he agreed to give up Cisalpine Gaul in exchange for the Transalpine for the term of five years, his army being made up to six legions out of the troops of D. Brutus. In the meantime he refused to allow the envoys to enter Mutina, and went on in their presence to press the siege. His quaestor Cotyla he sent to Rome to look after his interests.

Cicero describes these terms in a letter to Cassius (*ad Fam.* 12. 4) as "intolerable," and the conduct of the envoys he stigmatises as "disgraceful and criminal."

The Senate was convened by the Consul Pansa

(Hirtius having proceeded to the seat of war) to consider the report. In spite of the general indignation, which, Cicero says in the same letter, made him "popular in a salutary cause," the partisans of Antonius were strong. The question was whether "war" should be declared. L. Caesar, the uncle of Antonius, proposed that a state of "tumult"[1] should be decreed, and Antonius be called an adversary (*inimicus*) rather than *hostis*, an enemy. This proposal was supported by Calenus and others, and finally by Pansa the consul himself, and was carried. But a proposal of a second embassy was defeated. Cicero seems not to have taken a prominent part in the debate. But on the next day he delivered the eighth Philippic.

He said that there could not be a tumult without a war, that everything showed that a state of war existed. What was the meaning of the levies? of the blockade of D. Brutus? of the siege of Mutina? of the operations of Hirtius against Antonius? of the garb of war to be assumed on the morrow? This was the fifth civil war in his time, but the first that took place, not amid the quarrels of citizens, but amid their unanimity. He went on to speak of the threats of Antonius against the public safety, and expostulates with Calenus for his obstinate adherence to the cause of Antonius under a specious plea for peace and the preservation of the lives of citizens. How long would he say he desired peace? As to the other consulars it was disgraceful in them to wish for a second embassy. What would be the use of that when Antonius went on battering Mutina? The consulars had betrayed them. He proceeded to

[1] See n. 1, p. 288.

discuss Antonius' arrogant demands, and chided the envoys for consenting to report them, though Antonius had made no concessions.

He concluded by proposing an amnesty for all those with Antonius who should lay down their arms before the 15th of March, and moved that any man who after this decree joined Antonius, except Lucius Varius Cotyla, his agent, should be deemed a traitor.

M. TULLI CICERONIS IN M. ANTONIUM ORATIO PHILIPPICA OCTAVA

1 I. Confusius hesterno die est acta res, C. Pansa, quam postulabat institutum consulatus tui. Parum mihi visus es eos, quibus cedere non soles, sustinere. Nam cum senatus ea virtus fuisset, quae solet, et cum re viderent omnes esse bellum, quidamque id verbum removendum arbitrarentur, tua voluntas in discessione fuit ad lenitatem propensior. Victa est igitur propter verbi asperitatem te auctore nostra sententia, vicit L. Caesaris, amplissimi viri, qui verbi atrocitate dempta oratione fuit quam sententia lenior. Quamquam is quidem, antequam sententiam diceret, propinquitatem excusavit. Idem fecerat me consule in sororis viro, quod hoc tempore in sororis filio fecit, ut et luctu sororis moveretur et saluti populi Romani provideret.
2 Atque ipse tamen Caesar praecepit vobis quodam modo, patres conscripti, ne sibi adsentiremini, cum ita dixit, aliam sententiam se dicturum fuisse, eamque se ac re publica dignam, nisi propinquitate impediretur. Ergo ille avunculus; num etiam vos avunculi, qui illi estis adsensi?

At in quo fuit controversia? Belli nomen ponen-

[1] The mother of Antonius was his sister.

[2] P. Lentulus (the second husband of Julia, the mother of Antonius), who was put to death for his share in the Catilinarian conspiracy: cf. *Phil.* ii. 7.

THE EIGHTH PHILIPPIC OF M. TULLIUS CICERO AGAINST M. ANTONIUS

I. There was more confusion in the conduct of business yesterday, Caius Pansa, than the purpose of your consulship called for; you seemed to me to make little resistance to those to whom you do not usually yield. For when the Senate had showed its accustomed courage, and when all saw there was, in fact, a state of war, and certain persons thought the word "war" should be withdrawn, in the division your inclination was towards leniency. So our motion was defeated at your instance because of the harshness of a word; that of Lucius Caesar, a most honourable man, prevailed; and yet, though the severity of the expression was taken away, he was more lenient in what he said than in his vote. However, before he gave his vote, he excused himself by his relationship.[1] He had done in my consulship in the case of his sister's husband[2] the same thing that he did now in the case of his sister's son: he was moved by grief for his sister as well as by care for the safety of the Roman people. Yet even Caesar himself in a way recommended you not to agree with him, in saying that he would have given a different vote, and one worthy of himself and of the State, were he not being hampered by his relationship. Well! he is an uncle; are you also uncles who agreed with him?

But in what did the controversy consist? Some were unwilling the word "war" should be inserted

dum quidam in sententia non putabant, "tumultum" appellare malebant ignari non modo rerum, sed etiam verborum; potest enim esse bellum, ut tumultus non
3 sit, tumultus esse sine bello non potest. Quid est enim aliud tumultus nisi perturbatio tanta, ut maior timor oriatur? unde etiam nomen ductum est tumultus. Itaque maiores nostri tumultum Italicum, quod erat domesticus, tumultum Gallicum, quod erat Italiae finitimus, praeterea nullum nominabant. Gravius autem tumultum esse quam bellum hinc intellegi potest, quod bello vacationes valent, tumultu non valent. Ita fit, quem ad modum dixi, ut bellum sine tumultu
4 possit, tumultus sine bello esse non possit. Etenim cum inter bellum et pacem medium nihil sit, necesse est tumultum, si belli non sit, pacis esse; quo quid absurdius dici aut existimari potest? Sed nimis multa de verbo; rem potius videamus, patres conscripti, quam quidem intellego verbo fieri interdum deteriorem solere.

II. Nolumus hoc bellum videri. Quam igitur municipiis et coloniis ad excludendum Antonium auctoritatem damus, quam, ut milites fiant sine vi, sine multa, studio, voluntate, quam, ut pecunias in rem publicam polliceantur? Si enim belli nomen tolletur, municipiorum studia tollentur; consensus populi Romani, qui iam descendit in causam, si nos languescimus, debilitetur necesse est.

[1] Cf. the definition of "tumult" in n. 1, p. 288.

[2] This derivation from *timeo* is erroneous. The word comes from *tumeo* (swell).

in the resolution; they preferred the term "tumult," being ignorant, not merely of events, but even of the meaning of words; for there can be a war without a tumult: there can be no tumult without a war.[1] For what else is a tumult than a confusion so great that greater fear arises from it? from which the very word "tumult" is derived.[2] Accordingly our ancestors called a tumult that was a domestic one "Italic," a tumult that was on the borders of Italy "Gallic"; and gave the name to no other. Now that a tumult is more serious than a war can be understood from this, that in a war exemptions from service are valid, in a tumult are invalid. Whence it comes, as I have said, that there can be a war without a tumult, but no tumult without a war. For since between war and peace there is no middle term, a tumult is, if not part of war, necessarily part of peace; and what can be said or thought of more absurd than that? But I have said enough about the phrase; let us rather look to the fact, Conscript Fathers, though I recognise that it is sometimes made worse by the use of a word.

II. We do not wish this to be accounted "a war." What then is this authority we are giving the colonies and boroughs to shut out Antonius? the authority to enrol soldiers without compulsion, without fine, of their own enthusiasm and goodwill? the authority to promise contributions to the State? For if the name of war be done away with, the enthusiasm of the boroughs will be done away with; the unanimity of the Roman people which now is directed to your side must, if we falter, necessarily be weakened.

5 Sed quid plura? D. Brutus oppugnatur; non est bellum; Mutina, colonia vetus et firma, opsidetur; ne hoc quidem bellum est; Gallia vastatur; quae pax potest esse certior? Illud vero quis potest bellum esse dicere, quo consulem, fortissimum virum, cum exercitu misimus? Qui cum esset infirmus ex gravi diuturnoque morbo, nullam sibi putavit excusationem esse oportere, cum ad rei publicae praesidium vocaretur. C. quidem Caesar non exspectavit vestra decreta, praesertim cum illud esset aetatis; bellum contra Antonium sua sponte suscepit. Decernendi enim tempus nondum erat; belli autem gerendi tempus si praetermisisset, videbat
6 re publica oppressa nihil posse decerni. Ergo illi nunc et eorum exercitus in pace versantur. Non est hostis is, cuius praesidium Claterna deiecit Hirtius, non est hostis, qui consuli armatus obsistit, designatum consulem oppugnat, nec illa hostilia verba nec bellica, quae paulo ante ex collegae litteris Pansa recitavit: "Deieci praesidium, Claterna potitus sum; fugati equites, proelium commissum, occisi aliquot." Quae pax potest esse maior? Dilectus tota Italia decreti sublatis vacationibus; saga cras sumentur; consul se cum praesidio descensurum esse dixit.

7 Utrum hoc bellum non est an est tantum bellum, quantum numquam fuit? Ceteris enim bellis, maximeque civilibus, contentionem rei publicae causa faciebat. Sulla cum Sulpicio de iure legum, quas per vim Sulla

But what need to say more? Decimus Brutus is being attacked: there is no war; Mutina, an old and steadfast colony, is being besieged: not even is this war; Gaul is being wasted: what peace can be more assured? Who can call that a war to which we have sent a consul, the bravest of men, with an army? He, though sick of a serious and lingering disease, deemed no excuse open to him when he was being summoned to guard the State. Caius Caesar indeed did not wait for your decrees, as at that age he might have done: he undertook war of his own motion against Antonius. For the time for decrees had not yet arrived; but he saw that if he had let slip the season for waging war, when the State was crushed no decrees were possible. So then they and their armies are now engaged in peace! He is not an enemy whose garrison Hirtius has driven out of Claterna; he is not an enemy who is opposing in arms a consul, attacking a consul elect; nor are those words of hostility or war that Pansa read from his colleague's letter: "I have driven out the garrison; I hold Claterna; the cavalry have been put to flight, a battle has taken place, some few have been killed." What peace can be greater? Levies all over Italy have been decreed, exemptions from service being withdrawn; military garb will be assumed to-morrow; the consul has said he will come down to the forum with a bodyguard.

Is this not a war, or rather a war such as has never been before? For in other wars, and especially in civil wars, it was some political question gave rise to the quarrel. Sulla was at issue with Sulpicius on the validity of the laws which Sulla asserted

latas esse dicebat, Cinna cum Octavio de novorum civium suffragiis, rursus cum Mario et Carbone Sulla, ne dominarentur indigni, et ut clarissimorum hominum crudelissimam poeniretur necem. Horum omnium bellorum causae ex rei publicae contentione natae sunt. De proximo bello civili non libet dicere; ignoro causam, detestor exitum.

8 III. Hoc bellum quintum civile geritur (atque omnia in nostram aetatem inciderunt) primum non modo non in dissensione et discordia civium, sed in maxima consensione incredibilique concordia. Omnes idem volunt, idem defendunt, idem sentiunt. Cum omnes dico, eos excipio, quos nemo civitate dignos putat. Quae est igitur in medio belli causa posita? Nos deorum immortalium templa, nos muros, nos domicilia sedesque populi Romani, aras, focos, sepulchra maiorum, nos leges, iudicia, libertatem, coniuges, liberos, patriam defendimus; contra M. Antonius id molitur, id pugnat, ut haec omnia perturbet, evertat, praedam rei publicae causam belli putet, fortunas nostras partim dissipet, partim dispertiat parricidis.

9 In hac tam dispari ratione belli miserrimum illud est, quod ille latronibus suis pollicetur primum domos (urbem enim divisurum se confirmat); deinde omnibus portis, quo velint, deducturum. Omnes Cafones, omnes Saxae ceteraeque pestes, quae

[1] These are incidents in the first civil war between Marius, Cinna and Carbo, the popular leaders, and Sulla. The law alluded to was one proposed in 88 B.C. by Sulpicius the tribune for the inclusion (in the interests of the popular party) of the new Italian voters in the old city tribes. The "unworthy" were the leaders of the popular party; the "eminent men" were Senators massacred by Mar. and Cin., and afterwards avenged by Sulla.

had been carried by violence; Cinna with Octavius on the votes of the new citizens; Sulla again with Marius and Carbo against the tyranny of the unworthy, and to punish the most cruel death of eminent men.[1] The causes of all these wars sprang from a political quarrel. Of the last civil war[2] I do not care to speak: I do not know its cause; I detest its result.

III. This is the fifth civil war that is being waged—and all have fallen on our own times—the first that has arisen, not amid civic variance and discord, but amid the utmost unison and marvellous concord. All men have the same wishes, the same thing to defend, the same feelings. When I say "all," I except those whom no one deems worthy of citizenship. What then is the issue at stake in the war between us? We are defending the temples of the immortal Gods, our walls, our homes, and the abodes of the Roman people, the altars, hearths, and the sepulchres of our ancestors; we are defending our laws, law-courts, liberty, wives, children, fatherland; on the other side Marcus Antonius is striving and fighting to perturb and upset all these things; that he may regard the plunder of the State a reason for war; that he may partly dissipate our fortunes, and partly disperse them among his assassins.

In a war with such disparity of objects the most lamentable thing is that he first promises to his brigands our houses in Rome (for he assures them he will parcel out the city); next that he will lead them from all the gates whither they will. All the Cafos, all the Saxas, and the rest of the pests that follow

[2] Between J. Caesar and Pompeius.

secuntur Antonium, aedes sibi optimas, hortos, Tusculana, Albana definiunt. Atque etiam homines agrestes, si homines illi ac non pecudes potius, inani spe ad aquas usque et Puteolos provehuntur. Ergo habet Antonius, quod suis polliceatur. Quid nos? num quid tale habemus? Di meliora! id enim ipsum agimus, ne quis posthac quicquam eius modi possit polliceri. Invitus dico, sed dicendum est. Hasta Caesaris, patres conscripti, multis improbis et spem adfert et audaciam. Viderunt enim ex mendicis fieri repente divites, itaque semper hastam videre cupiunt ii, qui nostris bonis imminent; quibus omnia
10 pollicetur Antonius. Quid nos? nostris exercitibus quid pollicemur? Multo meliora atque maiora. Scelerum enim promissio et iis, qui exspectant, perniciosa est et iis, qui promittunt; nos libertatem nostris militibus, leges, iura, iudicia, imperium orbis terrae, dignitatem, pacem, otium pollicemur. Antoni igitur promissa cruenta, taetra, scelerata, dis hominibusque invisa, nec diuturna nec salutaria, nostra contra honesta, integra, gloriosa, plena laetitiae, plena pietatis.

11 IV. Hic mihi etiam Q. Fufius, vir fortis ac strenuus, amicus meus, pacis commoda commemorat. Quasi vero, si laudanda pax esset, ego id aeque commode facere non possem. Semel enim pacem defendi, non semper otio studui? quod cum omnibus bonis utile esset, tum praecipue mihi. Quem enim cursum industria mea tenere potuisset sine forensibus causis,

[1] C. in *De Off.* 2. 8, calls such auctions "*bellorum civilium semen.*"

[2] Whom he describes elsewhere (*ad Att.* xiv. 8) as "*mihi inimicissimus.*" He is the Calenus mentioned in s. 12.

Antonius, are specifying for themselves the finest mansions and pleasure-grounds, estates at Tusculum and Alba; and even rough countrymen—if men they are, and not rather beasts—are borne along by empty hopes as far as watering-places and Puteoli. So Antonius has something to promise his followers. What have we? have we anything similar? Heaven forfend! for our object is that no man hereafter may be able to promise anything of the kind. I speak unwillingly, but I must speak. Caesar's auctions, Conscript Fathers, inspire many unprincipled men with expectations and audacity, for they have seen men become from beggars suddenly rich; and so those who threaten our goods, to whom Antonius promises everything, are always longing to see auctions.[1] What have we? what are our engagements to our soldiers? Much better and greater things. For the promise of what is criminal is pernicious both to those that expect and to those that promise; we undertake to secure to our soldiers liberty, law, rights, courts, the empire of the world, dignity, peace, quiet. The promises therefore of Antonius are bloody, savage, criminal, hateful to gods and men, not lasting or salutary; ours, on the contrary, are honest, upright, noble, full of joy, and full of patriotism.

IV. At this point too Quintus Fufius, my brave and energetic friend,[2] reminds me of the advantages of peace. Just as though, if peace needed a panegyric, I could not compose one with equal propriety! Is it but once I have defended peace? have I not always aimed at quiet? which, useful as it is to all good men, is especially so to me. For what course could my industry have held without causes in the

sine legibus, sine iudiciis? quae esse non possunt civili pace sublata.

12 Sed quaeso, Calene, quid tu? servitutem pacem vocas? Maiores quidem nostri, non modo ut liberi essent, sed etiam ut imperarent, arma capiebant; tu arma abicienda censes, ut serviamus. Quae causa iustior est belli gerendi quam servitutis depulsio? in qua etiamsi non sit molestus dominus, tamen est miserrimum posse, si velit. Immo aliae causae iustae, haec necessaria est.

Nisi forte ad te hoc non putas pertinere, quod te socium fore speras dominationis Antoni. In quo bis laberis, primum quod tuas rationes communibus interponis, deinde quod quicquam stabile aut iucundum in regno putas. Non, si tibi antea profuit,
13 semper proderit. Quin etiam de illo homine queri solebas; quid te facturum de belua putas? Atque ais eum te esse, qui semper pacem optaris, semper omnes cives volueris salvos. Honesta oratio, sed ita, si bonos et utiles et e re publica cives; sin eos, qui natura cives sunt, voluntate hostes, salvos velis, quid tandem intersit inter te et illos? Pater quidem tuus, quo utebar sene auctore adulescens, homo severus et prudens, primas omnium civium P. Nasicae, qui Ti. Gracchum interfecit, dare solebat; eius virtute, consilio, magnitudine animi liberatam rem publicam

[1] See n. 2, p. 261.

[2] Under Caesar's rule. C. made him consul in 47 B.C.

[3] The elder of the two Gracchi, both being in favour of reforms, and regarded by the Senatorial party as seditious. They were successively tribunes of the Commons. P Scipio Nasica led the attack on the popular party in the Capitol in 133 B.C., during which Tib. was slain, but not by Nasica's hand.

forum, without laws, without law-courts, things that cannot exist if you take away peace?

But I ask you, Calenus,[1] what do you mean? do you call slavery peace? Our ancestors indeed took up arms not only to win freedom, but also empire; you think our arms should be thrown away to make us slaves. What juster reason is there for the waging of war than to repel slavery? a condition in which, though your master may not be oppressive, yet it is a wretched thing he should have the power to be so if he will. Nay, other causes are just, but this is necessary.

But perhaps you think this does not apply to you because you hope to be the partner of Antonius' tyranny? Here you make a double mistake; first, in preferring your own interests to those of the commonwealth; secondly, in thinking there is anything stable or agreeable in kingship. If it profited you once,[2] it will not always profit you. What is more, you used to complain of Caesar, who was a man; what do you think you will do in the case of a wild beast? And you say you are one who has always longed for peace, always wished that all citizens should live in safety. Fine sentiments! but only if you mean good and useful and loyal citizens: if you wish for the safety of those that are by nature citizens, but by choice enemies, what difference, pray, is there, between you and them? Your father indeed, whom as an old man I used to consult in my youth, a man of austerity and judgment, was wont to assign to Publius Nasica, who slew Tiberius Gracchus,[3] the primacy of all his fellow-citizens; he thought that by Nasica's courage and prudence and greatness of mind the State had

14 arbitrabatur. Quid? nos a patribus num aliter accepimus? Ergo is tibi civis, si temporibus illis fuisses non probaretur, quia non omnes salvos esse voluisset "QUOD L. OPIMIUS CONSUL VERBA FECIT DE RE PUBLICA DE EA RE ITA CENSUERUNT, UTI L. OPIMIUS CONSUL REM PUBLICAM DEFENDERET." Senatus haec verbis, Opimius armis. Num igitur eum, si tum esses, temerarium civem aut crudelem putares aut Q. Metellum, cuius quattuor filii consulares, P. Lentulum, principem senatus, complures alios summos viros, qui cum Opimio consule armati Gracchum in Aventinum persecuti sunt? quo in proelio Lentulus grave vulnus accepit, interfectus est Gracchus et M. Fulvius consularis eiusque duo adulescentuli filii. Illi igitur viri vituperandi; non enim omnes cives salvos esse voluerunt.

15 V. Ad propiora veniamus. C. Mario L. Valerio consulibus senatus rem publicam defendendam dedit; L. Saturninus tribunus pl., C. Glaucia praetor est interfectus. Omnes illo die Scauri, Metelli, Claudii, Catuli, Scaevolae, Crassi arma sumpserunt. Num aut consules illos aut clarissumos viros vituperandos putas? Ego Catilinam perire volui. Num tu, qui omnes salvos vis, Catilinam salvum esse voluisti? Hoc interest, Calene, inter meam sententiam et tuam: Ego nolo quemquam civem committere, ut

[1] These are the terms of the senatorial decree investing L. Opimius, the consul of 121 B.C., with dictatorial powers to suppress the disturbances caused by the partisans of C. Gracchus, the brother of the Tib. Gracchus above mentioned. The other persons referred to were supporters of the Senate.

[2] These two led a revolt in 100 B.C., seized the Capitol, and, because of their infamous lives, were besieged and slain by the mob.

been liberated. Well? have we received any other precepts from our fathers? So that citizen would not have been approved in your eyes, if you had lived in those times, because he had not desired the safety of all the citizens! "Whereas Lucius Opimius the consul has spoken on a matter touching the State, the Senate on that matter has decreed that Lucius Opimius the consul should defend the State."[1] Thus the Senate in words; Opimius supported it with arms. Would you then, if you had lived at that time, have regarded him as a rash or cruel citizen? or Quintus Metellus, whose four sons were consulars? or Publius Lentulus, the leader of the Senate, and many other most distinguished men who took up arms with Opimius the consul and pursued Gracchus to the Aventine, an encounter in which Lentulus received a severe wound, and Gracchus was slain, and Marcus Fulvius the consular, and his two young sons? Those men are therefore to be abused, for they did not desire the safety of all citizens.

V. Let us come to more recent examples. The Senate entrusted the defence of the State to Caius Marius and Lucius Valerius the consuls; Lucius Saturninus, tribune of the commons, and Caius Glaucia the praetor were slain.[2] On that day all the Scauri, Metelli, Claudii, Catuli, Scaevolas, and Crassi took up arms. Do you think that either those consuls or those illustrious men should be abused? I desired the death of Catiline. Did you who wish for the safety of all wish that Catiline should be unpunished? There is this difference, Calenus, between your creed and mine: I am unwilling that any citizen should act so as to incur the penalty of

morte multandus sit; tu, etiamsi commiserit, conservandum putas. In corpore si quid eius modi est, quod reliquo corpori noceat, id uri secarique patimur, ut membrum aliquod potius quam totum corpus intereat; sic in rei publicae corpore, ut totum salvum sit, quicquid est pestiferum, amputetur.
16 Dura vox; multo illa durior: "Salvi sint improbi, scelerati, impii; deleantur innocentes, honesti, boni, tota res publica!" Uno in homine, Q. Fufi, fateor te vidisse plus quam me. Ego P. Clodium arbitrabar perniciosum civem, sceleratum, libidinosum, impium, audacem, facinerosum, tu contra sanctum, temperantem, innocentem, modestum, retinendum civem et optandum. In hoc uno te plurimum vidisse, me multum errasse concedo.

Nam quod me tecum iracunde agere dixisti solere, non est ita. Vehementer me agere fateor, iracunde nego. Omnino irasci amicis non temere soleo, ne si
17 merentur quidem. Itaque sine verborum contumelia a te dissentire possum, sine animi summo dolore non possum. Parva est enim mihi tecum aut parva de re dissensio? ego huic faveo, tu illi? Immo vero ego D. Bruto faveo, tu M. Antonio; ego conservari coloniam populi Romani cupio, tu expugnari studes.

VI. An hoc negare potes, qui omnes moras interponas, quibus infirmetur Brutus, melior fiat Antonius? Quousque enim dices pacem velle te? Res geritur,

[1] This is, of course, bitter sarcasm.

death; you think that, even if he has so acted, he should be spared. If there be in the body anything such as to injure the rest of the body we suffer it to be cauterised and cut out, that some member, rather than the whole body, should perish; so in the body of the State, to ensure the health of the whole, let what is noxious be amputated. A harsh saying; but yours is harsher: "Let the reprobate, the criminal, the disloyal, be saved; let the innocent, the honest, the good, all the State, be wiped out!" In the case of one man, Quintus Fufius, I confess you saw farther than I. I deemed Publius Clodius a pernicious citizen, criminal, lascivious, disloyal, audacious, villainous; you, on the contrary, thought him incorrupt, reasonable, innocent, modest, one to be kept and desired as a citizen. That in the case of this one man you were very clear-sighted and I much in error I allow![1]

As to your statement that I am in the habit of arguing angrily, it is not so: I confess I argue with vehemence, I deny the anger; I am not at all wont to be wroth lightly with friends even when they deserve it. So I can dissent from you without insulting words, but without the greatest pain I cannot. For is my difference with you a small one or on a small point? Do I merely favour this man, you that? Yes, indeed, I do favour Decimus Brutus, you Marcus Antonius; I desire the preservation of a colony of the Roman people, you are anxious it should be reduced by storm.

VI. Can you deny this charge, who are interposing every delay whereby Brutus is weakened, Antonius made stronger? For how long, pray, will you say you wish peace? War is being carried on;

† conductae liniae[1] sunt, pugnatur acerrime. Qui intercurrerent, misimus tres principes civitatis. Hos contempsit, reiecit, repudiavit Antonius; tu tamen
18 permanes constantissimus defensor Antoni. Et quidem, quo melior senator videatur, negat se illi amicum esse debere; cum suo magno esset beneficio, venisse eum contra se. Vide, quanta caritas sit patriae; cum homini sit iratus, tamen rei publicae causa defendit Antonium.

Ego te, cum in Massiliensis tam es acerbus, Q. Fufi, non animo aequo audio. Quousque enim Massiliam oppugnabis? ne triumphus quidem finem facit belli, per quem lata est urbs ea, sine qua numquam ex Transalpinis gentibus maiores nostri triumphaverunt? Quo quidem tempore populus Romanus ingemuit; quamquam proprios dolores suarum rerum omnes habebant, tamen huius civitatis fidelissimae miserias
19 nemo erat civis qui a se alienas arbitraretur. Caesar ipse, qui illis fuerat iratissimus, tamen propter singularem eius civitatis gravitatem et fidem cotidie aliquid iracundiae remittebat; te nulla sua calamitate civitas satiare tam fidelis potest? Rursus iam me irasci fortasse dices. Ego autem sine iracundia dico omnia nec tamen sine dolore animi; neminem illi civitati inimicum esse arbitror, qui amicus huic sit civitati. Excogitare, quae tua ratio sit, Calene, non possum. Antea deterrere te, ne popularis esses, non poteramus; exorare nunc, ut sis popularis, non possumus.

[1] All the MSS. have *lineae*, a word of unknown meaning in connection with war. Editors previous to Halm read *vineae*.

[1] Massilia in 49 B.C. declared for Pompeius, and was reduced by Caesar.

the lines have been brought up face to face; heavy fighting is proceeding. We have sent three chiefs of the State to intervene. These Antonius has rejected and repudiated with contempt; yet you remain the most constant defender of Antonius. And indeed, that he may appear the more impartial Senator, he says he is not bound to be his friend; that Antonius, though greatly indebted to him, appeared in court against him. Mark what love he has for his country! he is angry with the man, and yet, for his country's sake, he defends Antonius!

As for me, when you are so bitter against the Massilians, Quintus Fufius, I cannot listen to you with patience. How long will you attack Massilia? Is not war[1] ended even by a triumph in which that city, without whose help our ancestors never triumphed over the Transalpine tribes, was borne in effigy. On that occasion the Roman people groaned; although all men had their private griefs for their own misfortunes, yet there was not a citizen that thought the miseries of this most faithful State no concern of his. Caesar himself, who had been very angry with them, yet because of the steadfastness and good faith of that community daily abated somewhat of his anger; is there no calamity by which so faithful a community can satiate you? Perhaps you will say I am angry with you again? But all I am saying is without anger, but not without pain of mind; I think that no man is an enemy to that State who is a friend to this one of ours. I cannot discover, Calenus, what is your point of view. Formerly we could not deter you from being a democrat, now we cannot prevail on you by prayer to be a democrat.

Satis multa cum Fufio ac sine odio omnia, nihil sine dolore. Credo autem, qui generi querellam moderate ferat, aequo animo laturum amici.

20 VII. Venio ad reliquos consulares, quorum nemo est (iure hoc meo dico), quin mecum habeat aliquam coniunctionem gratiae, alii maximam, alii mediocrem, nemo nullam.

Quam hesternus dies nobis, consularibus dico, turpis inluxit! Iterum legatos? "Quid, si ille faceret indutias?" Ante os oculosque legatorum tormentis Mutinam verberavit, opus ostendebat munitionemque legatis, ne punctum quidem temporis, cum legati adessent, oppugnatio respiravit. Ad hunc legatos? cur? an ut eorum reditu vehe-
21 mentius pertimescatis? Equidem cum ante legatos decerni non censuissem, hoc me tamen consolabar, quod, cum illi ab Antonio contempti et reiecti revertissent renuntiavissentque senatui non modo illum de Gallia non discessisse, uti censuissemus, sed ne a Mutina quidem recessisse, potestatem sibi D. Bruti conveniendi non fuisse, foret ut[1] omnes inflammati odio, excitati dolore armis, equis, viris D. Bruto subveniremus. Nos etiam languidiores postea facti sumus, quam M. Antoni non solum audaciam et scelus, sed etiam insolentiam superbiamque
22 perspeximus. Utinam L. Caesar valeret, Servius

[1] So Halm from the Vat. text "*fore tu.*" Other MSS. have "*fore ut.*"

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[1] C. Vibius Pansa the consul.
[2] Who had died on the embassy to A. *Phil.* ix. is his funeral oration.

I have argued enough with Fufius, and all without hatred, but no word without pain. But I think that he, who has calmly borne the complaint of his son-in-law,[1] will bear that of a friend.

VII. I come to the rest of the consulars, of whom there is none—I have the right to say this—that is not bound to me by some tie of gratitude, some by the greatest, others by slighter ties, no man by none.

With what dishonour did yesterday dawn upon us—I mean on us consulars! Envoys a second time? "Oh, but what if he were to make a truce?" In the presence, before the very eyes, of the envoys he pounded Mutina with his engines; he showed his works and siege-train to the envoys; not for a moment, although the envoys were there, did the siege find a breathing-space. Envoys to this man? Why? that on the envoys' return you may be in greater panic? As for me, although I had voted against an embassy before, yet I consoled myself with this reflection, that, when those envoys, after being rejected by Antonius with scorn, had returned, and reported to the Senate, not only that he had not departed from Gaul in accordance with our decree, but had not even withdrawn from Mutina, and that they had no opportunity of approaching Decimus Brutus, we all of us would be inflamed with hatred, and stirred with indignation, and would come to the assistance of Decimus Brutus with arms, horses, and men. But we have become even more nerveless after realising, not only the audacity and villainy of Marcus Antonius, but his insolence and pride as well. Would that Lucius Caesar were in health, and that Servius Sulpicius[2] were alive! this

Sulpicius viveret! multo melius haec causa ageretur a tribus, quam nunc agitur ab uno.

Dolenter hoc dicam potius quam contumeliose: deserti, deserti, inquam, sumus, patres conscripti, a principibus. Sed (saepe iam dixi) omnes in tanto periculo, qui recte et fortiter sentient, erunt consulares. Animum nobis adferre legati debuerunt; timorem attulerunt (quamquam mihi quidem nullum), quamvis de illo, ad quem missi sunt, bene existiment; a quo etiam mandata acceperunt.

23 VIII. Pro di immortales! ubi est ille mos virtusque maiorum? C. Popilius apud maiores nostros cum ad Antiochum regem legatus missus esset et verbis senatus nuntiasset, ut ab Alexandrea discederet, quam obsidebat, cum tempus ille differret, virgula stantem circumscripsit dixitque se renuntiaturum senatui, nisi prius sibi respondisset, quid facturus esset, quam ex illa circumscriptione exisset. Praeclare; senatus enim faciem secum attulerat auctoritatemque populi Romani; cui qui non paret, non ab eo mandata accipienda sunt, sed ipse est potius
24 repudiandus. An ego ab eo mandata acciperem, qui senatus mandata contemneret, aut ei cum senatu quicquam commune iudicarem, qui imperatorem populi Romani senatu prohibente opsideret?

At quae mandata! qua adrogantia, quo stupore, quo spiritu! Cur autem ea legatis nostris dabat, cum ad nos Cotylam mitteret, ornamentum atque

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[1] Antiochus Epiphanes, King of Syria, who had invaded Egypt. The Romans in 168 B.C. sent C. Popilius Laenas and other commissioners to bid him desist. Livy (45. 12) tells the story in the text.

[2] Cf. *Phil.* v. 2.

my cause would be conducted much better by three than now it is conducted by one.

I will say it with grief rather than with insult: we are deserted, deserted, Conscript Fathers, by our leaders. But—I have often said it—in such an hour of peril all who shall record a just and courageous judgment will be consulars. The envoys should have brought us confidence: they have brought fear—though to me none—however good is the opinion they express of the man to whom they were sent, and from whom they have received even commands.

VIII. Ye immortal Gods! where is the old-world spirit of our ancestors? When in the days of our ancestors Caius Popilius had been sent as envoy to King Antiochus,[1] and had in the words of the Senate ordered him to retire from Alexandria which he was besieging, the king began to waste time, and Popilius drew a line round him as he stood, and said he would report him to the Senate if the king did not reply what his intentions were before he stepped out of that circle. A noble action! for he had brought with him the personification of the Senate and the authority of the Roman people: if a man does not obey that, we should not receive commands from him; rather should we reject him. Was I to receive commands from the man who was despising the commands of the Senate? or was I to consider he had anything in common with the Senate who, while the Senate forbade it, was besieging a general of the Roman people?

But what commands! what arrogance, what obtuseness, what insolence, they show! Yet why did he give those commands to our envoys when he was sending us Cotyla,[2] the ornament and bulwark

arcem amicorum suorum, hominem aedilicium? si vero tum fuit aedilis, cum eum iussu Antoni in
25 convivio servi publici loris ceciderunt. At quam modesta mandata! Ferrei sumus, patres conscripti, qui quicquam huic negemus. "Utramque provinciam," inquit, "remitto, exercitum depono, privatus esse non recuso"; haec sunt enim verba. Redire ad se videtur. "Omnia obliviscor, in gratiam redeo." Sed quid adiungit? "Si legionibus meis sex, si equitibus, si cohorti praetoriae praemia agrumque dederitis." Iis etiam praemia postulat, quibus ut ignoscatur si postulet, impudentissimus iudicetur. Addit praeterea, ut, quos ipse cum Dolabella dederit agros, teneant ii, quibus dati sint.
26 Hic est Campanus ager et Leontinus, quae duo maiores nostri annonae perfugia ducebant.

IX. Cavet mimis, aleatoribus, lenonibus, Cafoni etiam et Saxae cavet, quos centuriones pugnaces et lacertosos inter mimorum et mimarum greges conlocavit. Postulat praeterea, ut chirographorum sua et commentariorum collegaeque sui decreta maneant. Quid laborat, ut habeat, quod quisque mercatus est, si, quod accepit, habet, qui vendidit? et ne tangantur rationes ad Opis, id est, ne septiens miliens reciperetur, ne fraudi sit septemviris, quod egissent. Nucula hoc, credo, admonuit; verebatur fortasse, ne amitteret tantas clientelas. Caveri

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[1] Cisalpine Gaul and Macedonia. As to the latter cf. n. 1, p. 338.

[2] J. Caesar.

[3] Cf. *Phil.* vi. 5.

[4] To whom he had assigned lands. N. was one of the septemvirs: cf. *Phil.* vi. 5; xi. 6.

of his friends, a man who had been an aedile? if indeed he was an aedile at the time when by Antonius' order public slaves lashed him with thongs at a banquet. But how modest are the commands! We must be made of iron, Conscript Fathers, to deny this man anything! "I give up both provinces,"[1] he says, "I resign my army; I do not refuse to assume a private station." These are his words: he seems to be coming to his senses. "I forget everything: I desire reconciliation." But what does he add? "If you give rewards and land to my six legions, to my cavalry, and to the praetorian cohort." He even demands rewards for men for whom it would be excessive impudence to demand a pardon! He adds besides: "That the donees of the lands which he himself and Dolabella gave should continue in possession"; that is to say, the Campanian and Leontine lands, both of which our ancestors deemed our store-houses of corn.

IX. He provides for mimes, gamblers, and pimps; he provides even for Cafo and Saxa, pugnacious and brawny centurions whom he has posted amid his herd of mimes, male and female. He demands besides "that his own and his colleague's[2] decrees as contained in writings and note-books should remain valid." Why is he anxious that each purchaser should retain what he bought if he the seller keeps the price? "And that the accounts in the Temple of Ops shall not be interfered with"; that is, that seven hundred millions of sesterces should not be recovered; "that the septemvirs[3] shall not be prejudiced by their acts." Nucula, I fancy, was the inspirer of this: he was perhaps afraid of losing so many clients.[4] He also wishes to provide "for

etiam volt iis, qui secum sint, quicquid contra leges
27 commiserint. Mustelae et Tironi prospicit; de se nihil laborat; quid enim commisit umquam? num aut pecuniam publicam attigit aut hominem occidit aut secum habuit armatos? Sed quid est, quod de iis laboret? postulat enim, ne sua iudiciaria lex abrogetur. Quo impetrato quid est quod metuat? an ne suorum aliquis a Cyda, Lysiade, Curio condemnetur?

Neque tamen nos urget mandatis pluribus; remittit aliquantum et relaxat. "Galliam," inquit, "togatam remitto, comatam postulo" (otiosus videlicet esse mavult) "cum sex legionibus," inquit, "iisque suppletis ex D. Bruti exercitu," non modo ex dilectu suo, tamdiuque ut optineat, dum M. Brutus C. Cassius consules prove consulibus provincias optinebunt. Huius comitiis Gaius frater
28 (eius est enim annus) iam repulsam tulit. "Ipse autem ut quinquennium," inquit, "optineam." At istud vetat lex Caesaris, et tu acta Caesaris defendis.

X. Haec tu mandata, L. Piso, et tu, L. Philippe, principes civitatis, non dico animo ferre, verum auribus accipere potuistis? Sed, ut suspicor, terror erat quidam, nec vos ut legati apud illum fuistis nec ut consulares, nec vos vestram nec rei publicae dignitatem tenere potuistis. Et tamen nescio quo pacto

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[1] Cf. *Phil.* ii. 4; v. 6.

[2] As to these, cf. *Phil.* v. 5.

[3] Which was held by L. Munatius Plancus: *Phil.* v. 2. C. means that A. wishes not to be interfered with while he is levying "even nations" (*Phil.* vii. 1) to march on Rome.

[4] *i.e.* Antonius, by speaking of Brutus and Cassius as consuls, admits that his brother would be defeated in his candidature for the consulship.

those in his train, whatever illegal acts they have committed." He is taking care of Mustela and Tiro;[1] he does not trouble about himself; for what illegal act has he ever committed? has he ever either handled public money, or killed a man, or kept an armed guard? But why should he be anxious about them? for he demands "that his judicature law should not be repealed." If he secure that, what has he to apprehend? is it the condemnation of any one of his followers by Cydas, Lysiades, or Curius?[2]

However, he does not press us with more commands: he makes a few abatements and concessions. "I resign," he says, "Cisalpine Gaul, I demand Further Gaul"[3]—that is to say, he prefers to be undisturbed—"with six legions," he says, "and those made up to strength out of Decimus Brutus' army"—and not only from his own levies—"and that he should hold the province so long as Marcus Brutus and Caius Cassius hold provinces as consuls or proconsuls." By this man's style of election his brother Caius—for it is his year—has already been defeated![4] "And that I myself shall hold my province for five years." But that the law of Caesar forbids—and you defend his acts.

X. Are these the commands to which you, Lucius Piso, and you, Lucius Philippus,[5] as leading men in the State, could, I will not say reconcile your hearts, but even lend your ears? But, as I suspect, there was a sort of panic, and you in his presence were not like envoys or consulars, and were unable to maintain your own dignity or that of the State. And yet somehow influenced, I imagine, by a certain

[5] The surviving envoys, Sulpicius having died.

sapientia quadam, credo, quod ego non possem, non nimis irati revertistis. Vobis M. Antonius nihil tribuit clarissimis viris legatis populi Romani; nos quid non legato M. Antoni Cotylae concessimus? Cui portas huius urbis patere ius non erat, huic hoc templum patuit, huic aditus in senatum fuit, hic hesterno die sententias vestras in codicillos et omnia verba referebat, huic se etiam summis honoribus usi contra suam dignitatem venditabant.

29 O di immortales, quam magnum est personam in re publica tueri principis! quae non animis solum debet, sed etiam oculis servire civium. Domum recipere legatum hostium, in cubiculum admittere, etiam seducere hominis est nihil de dignitate, nimium de periculo cogitantis. Quod autem est periculum? Nam, si maximum in discrimen venitur, aut libertas parata victori est aut mors proposita victo, quorum alterum optabile est, alterum effugere nemo potest. Turpis autem fuga mortis omni est
30 morte peior. Nam illud quidem non adducor ut credam, esse quosdam, qui invideant alicuius constantiae, qui labori eius, qui eius perpetuam in re publica adiuvanda voluntatem et senatui et populo Romano probari moleste ferant. Omnes id quidem facere debebamus, eaque erat non modo apud maiores nostros, sed etiam nuper summa laus consularium, vigilare, adesse animo, semper aliquid pro

[1] See n. 1, p. 260. [2] *i.e.* C. himself.

kind of philosophy, you—though it would be beyond my power—returned without being unduly irate. To you Marcus Antonius yielded nothing, though you were men of mark and envoys of the Roman people; but we—what concession have we not made to Cotyla,[1] the envoy of Marcus Antonius? Though by right the gates of this city should not have been opened to him, yet this temple was open to him; he had a right of entrance into the Senate, yesterday he was entering in his note-books your votes and everything you said; even those who had filled the highest offices were currying favour with him to the detriment of their dignity.

Ye immortal Gods! what a task it is to maintain the part of a leader in public affairs! of one who should study, not the feelings alone, but the very looks of his fellow-citizens! To receive at home the envoy of enemies, to admit him into a private room, even to draw him aside, is the mark of a man who thinks nothing of his honour, but too much of his danger. But what is the danger? For, if we come to a final crisis, it is either liberty awaiting for the victor, or death appointed for the vanquished; the one is to be prayed for, the other no man can escape. But base flight from death is worse than any death. For this, indeed, I cannot be induced to believe, that there are men who begrudge someone else[2] his steadfastness, his exertions; who take it ill that his continued good-will in assisting the State is approved by the Senate and the Roman people. All of us ought to do that, and, not only with our ancestors, but also in recent times, it has been the highest praise of consulars that they were vigilant, showed presence of mind, and were always

31 re publica aut cogitare aut facere aut dicere. Ego, patres conscripti, Q. Scaevolam augurem memoria teneo bello Marsico, cum esset summa senectute et perdita valetudine, cotidie, simul atque luceret, facere omnibus conveniendi sui potestatem; nec eum quisquam illo bello vidit in lecto, senexque debilis primus veniebat in curiam. Huius industriam maxime equidem vellem ut imitarentur ii, quos oportebat, secundo autem loco, ne alterius labori inviderent.

32 XI. Etenim, patres conscripti, cum in spem libertatis sexennio post sumus ingressi diutiusque servitutem perpessi, quam captivi servi frugi et diligentes solent, quas vigilias, quas sollicitudines, quos labores liberandi populi Romani causa recusare debemus? Equidem, patres conscripti, quamquam hoc honore usi togati solent esse, cum est in sagis civitas, statui tamen a vobis ceterisque civibus in tanta atrocitate temporis tantaque perturbatione rei publicae non differre vestitu. Non enim ita gerimus nos hoc bello consulares, ut aequo animo populus Romanus visurus sit nostri honoris insignia, cum partim e nobis ita timidi sint, ut omnem populi Romani beneficiorum memoriam abiecerint, partim ita a re publica aversi, ut se hosti favere prae se ferant, legatos nostros ab Antonio despectos et inrisos facile patiantur, legatum Antoni sublevatum velint. Hunc enim reditu ad Antonium prohiberi

[1] Those of consular rank were allowed to appear in civic garb on such an occasion.

by thought, or action, or speech working somehow on behalf of the State. I, Conscript Fathers, recall to memory that Quintus Scaevola, the augur during the Marsic war, though in extreme old age and with shattered health, every day by sunrise gave an audience to all that came to him; nor did any man during that war see him in his bed; and the feeble old man was the first to come into the Senate-house. That his activity might be imitated by those whom it befitted would be my chief wish, but next to it that they might not be jealous of another man's exertions.

XI. For, Conscript Fathers, seeing that after six years we have entered upon the hope of freedom, and have endured slavery longer than good and diligent slaves taken in war are wont to endure it, what vigils, what anxieties, what labours for the sake of the liberation of the Roman people should we shrink from? As for myself, Conscript Fathers, though men who have filled the office I have filled are usually in civil dress when the community is in military garb,[1] yet I have determined at such a stern time, and in the midst of such confusion of the State, not to differ in attire from you and the rest of my fellow-citizens. For we consulars have not borne ourselves so well in this war that the Roman people will look with equanimity on the badges of our station, seeing that some of us are so timid as to have cast away all recollection of the Roman people's favours towards them; some are so disaffected towards the State as openly to display their partiality to the enemy, lightly to put up with the scorn and ridicule Antonius has cast upon our envoys, and to wish Antonius' envoy to be supported. For they said he should not be prevented from returning to Antonius,

negabant oportere et in eodem excipiendo sententiam meam corrigebant. Quibus geram morem. Redeat ad imperatorem suum Varius, sed ea lege, ne umquam Romam revertatur. Ceteris autem, si errorem suum deposuerint et cum re publica in gratiam redierint, veniam et impunitatem dandam puto.

33 Quas ob res ita censeo:

"Eorum, qui cum M. Antonio sunt, qui ab armis discesserint et aut ad C. Pansam aut ad A. Hirtium consules aut ad D. Brutum imperatorem, consulem designatum, aut ad C. Caesarem pro praetore ante Idus Martias primas adierint, iis fraudi ne sit, quod cum M. Antonio fuerint. Si quis eorum, qui cum M. Antonio sunt, fecerit, quod honore praemiove dignum esse videatur, uti C. Pansa A. Hirtius consules, alter ambove, si iis videbitur, de eius honore praemiove primo quoque die ad senatum referant. Si qui post hoc senatus consultum ad Antonium profectus esset praeter L. Varium, senatum existimaturum eum contra rem publicam fecisse."

and by proposing to receive him they amended my motion. I will assent to their view. Let Varius[1] return to his general, but on condition that he never return to Rome. But to the rest, if they abandon their errors and are reconciled to the State, I think that a pardon and an amnesty should be granted.

For these reasons I propose as follows:

"Let those who are with Marcus Antonius, and who lay down their arms, and join before the Ides of March next either Caius Pansa or Aulus Hirtius, the consuls, or Decimus Brutus, general, consul elect, or Caius Caesar, propraetor, be not prejudiced by their having been with Marcus Antonius. If any of those that are with Marcus Antonius shall have performed any deed that seems worthy of honour or reward, let Caius Pansa and Aulus Hirtius, the consuls, one or both of them, if it shall seem good to them, refer the question of such honour or reward to the Senate on the first possible day. If any one after this decree should set out to join Marcus Antonius—Lucius Varius excepted—the Senate will regard him as having acted contrary to the interests of the State."

[1] Cotyla, A.'s envoy.

INTRODUCTION TO PHILIPPIC IX

Servius Sulpicius Rufus—"the Roman friend of Rome's least mortal mind," as Byron calls him[1]—whose untimely death gave occasion to the following speech, was one of the most celebrated jurists of antiquity, and was in oratory inferior only to Cicero, with whom, as a fellow pupil, he had been trained in rhetoric. Curule aedile in 69 and praetor in 65, he held the consulship in 51 with Marcellus, one of Caesar's bitterest opponents, whose proposal to deprive Caesar of his command before his term was completed he successfully defeated. Having espoused Caesar's cause in the civil war, he was appointed in 46, after the battle of Pharsalia, proconsul of Achaia.

As a lawyer he was the first who handled law in a scientific manner, and his methodical treatment of it was followed by subsequent jurists, though no actual excerpt from his writings is to be found in the Digest. He is said to have left behind him as many as 180 treatises.

He was the writer of a well-known letter of condolence to Cicero (*ad Fam.* 4. 5) on the death of the orator's daughter Tullia, the wife of Dolabella. Middleton (*Life*, vol. ii. p. 168) describes it "as a masterpiece of the consolatory kind"; and, if due allowance be made for the point of view, it is worthy to be ranked with Cromwell's similar letter to Col. Walton on the death of his son at Marston Moor.

[1] *Childe Harold*, iv. 44.

On the day after the debate in which Cicero spoke the eighth Philippic, the Consul Pansa referred to the Senate the question what honours should be voted to the memory of S. Sulpicius (who had died on the embassy), and proposed for him a public funeral and a gilt statue on the rostra. P. Servilius opposed a statue on the ground that there was no precedent for a statue to an ambassador who had not been killed while on an embassy. Cicero in the ninth Philippic argued, giving historical instances, that what was regarded by their ancestors was, not the manner of death, but whether death had been brought about by the embassy. And he showed that, having regard to the health of Sulpicius at the time he started, and the small expectation he had of ever returning, Sulpicius had been brought to death by the embassy no less than ambassadors who had in old times been slain.[1] He said, moreover, that a statue would stand as a memorial to all time of the villainy of Antonius. He proceeded to utter a eulogy on his friend, and proposed a bronze pedestrian statue, which he said the simplicity of Sulpicius would have preferred, a public funeral, and the assignment of a place of burial for him and his posterity. These proposals were carried.

[1] C. enumerates these, with the circumstances of their death, in ch. 2.

M. TULLI CICERONIS IN M. ANTONIUM ORATIO PHILIPPICA NONA

1 I. Vellem di immortales fecissent, patres conscripti, ut vivo potius Ser. Sulpicio gratias ageremus quam honores mortuo quaereremus. Nec vero dubito, quin, si ille vir legationem renuntiare potuisset, reditus eius et vobis gratus fuerit et rei publicae salutaris futurus, non quo L. Philippo et L. Pisoni aut studium aut cura defuerit in tanto officio tantoque munere, sed cum Ser. Sulpicius aetate illos anteiret, sapientia omnes, subito ereptus e causa totam legationem orbam et debilitatam reliquit.

2 Quodsi cuiquam iustus honos habitus est in morte legato, in nullo iustior quam in Ser. Sulpicio reperietur. Ceteri, qui in legatione mortem obierunt, ad incertum vitae periculum sine ullo mortis metu profecti sunt, Ser. Sulpicius cum aliqua perveniendi ad M. Antonium spe profectus est, nulla revertendi. Qui cum ita adfectus esset, ut, si ad gravem valetudinem labor accessisset, sibi ipse diffideret, non recusavit, quo minus vel extremo spiritu, si quam opem rei publicae ferre posset, experiretur. Itaque non illum vis hiemis, non nives, non longitudo itineris, non asperitas viarum, non morbus ingrave-

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[1] S. Sulpicius Rufus, one of the most celebrated orators and jurists of antiquity. See the Intr. to this speech. Cic. (*ad Brut.* 41) speaks of his profound knowledge of the Jus Civile and Jus Naturale; of his clearness of expression and of definition; and of his high moral character.

THE NINTH PHILIPPIC OF M. TULLIUS CICERO AGAINST M. ANTONIUS

I could wish the immortal Gods, Conscript Fathers, had allowed us now to be returning thanks to Servius Sulpicius[1] in life rather than devising honours for him in death! Nor do I doubt that, if it had been possible for that great man to report on the embassy, his return would have been welcome to you and beneficial to the State—not that Lucius Philippus and Lucius Piso failed in either zeal or diligence in so important a duty, so important a charge;[2] but, as Servius Sulpicius was superior to them in age, and to all men in wisdom, his sudden removal from the mission left the whole embassy destitute and weakened.

But if honour has been justly paid in death to any envoy, in no man's case will it prove more just than in that of Servius Sulpicius. Others who have died on an embassy have set out to confront the uncertain risks of life, but without any fear of death; Servius Sulpicius set out with some hope of reaching Marcus Antonius, with none of returning. Although he was in such a condition as to distrust his strength if exertion were added to ill health, he did not shrink from trying even with his latest breath what service he could render to the State. Accordingly neither the violence of winter, nor snow, nor length of journey, nor roughness of the way, nor aggrava-

[2] C. forgets what he had said about them in ch. 10 of the preceding speech.

scens retardavit, cumque iam ad congressum conloquiumque eius pervenisset, ad quem erat missus, in ipsa cura ac meditatione obeundi sui muneris excessit e vita.

3 Ut igitur alia, sic hoc, C. Pansa, praeclare, quod et nos ad honorandum Ser. Sulpicium cohortatus es et ipse multa copiose de illius laude dixisti. Quibus a te dictis nihil praeter sententiam dicerem, nisi P. Servilio, clarissimo viro, respondendum putarem, qui hunc honorem statuae nemini tribuendum censuit nisi ei, qui ferro esset in legatione interfectus. Ego autem, patres conscripti, sic interpretor sensisse maiores nostros, ut causam mortis censuerint, non genus esse quaerendum. Etenim, cui legatio ipsa morti fuisset, eius monimentum extare voluerunt, ut in bellis periculosis obirent homines legationis munus audacius. Non igitur exempla maiorum quaerenda, sed consilium est eorum, a quo ipsa exempla nata sunt, explicandum.

4 II. Lars Tolumnius, rex Veientium, quattuor legatos populi Romani Fidenis interemit, quorum statuae steterunt usque ad meam memoriam in rostris. Iustus honos; iis enim maiores nostri, qui ob rem publicam mortem obierant, pro brevi vita diuturnam memoriam reddiderunt. Cn. Octavi, clari viri et magni, qui primus in eam familiam, quae

[1] Fidenae, a Roman colony, had revolted to Tolumnius. The four ambassadors sent from Rome to enquire into the matter were put to death by the men of Fidenae "by command of Tolumnius": Livy 4. 17. This was in 434 B.C.

[2] Consul 165 B.C. He was sent in 162 B.C. to Antiochus Eupator, king of Syria, the grandson of Antiochus the Great, to enforce obedience by the king to a treaty made with the grandfather.

tion of disease, stayed him, and when he had got so far as to meet and have speech with the man to whom he was sent, in the very midst of his cares and thoughts for the performance of his charge he passed away.

As then in other instances, Caius Pansa, so in this you have acted nobly both in exhorting us to honour Servius Sulpicius, and in having said much and abundantly in his praise. To what you have said I would merely add my vote, did I not think I ought to reply to so illustrious a man as Publius Servilius, who has given his opinion that this honour of a statue should be conferred on no man that has not been slain by the sword on an embassy. But I, Conscript Fathers, interpret the feelings of our ancestors in the sense that they thought it was the cause of death, not its particular character, that should be examined. For when the actual embassy had brought death to any man, they wished that a monument to him should be raised, that in dangerous wars men might undertake the office of ambassador with greater boldness. We should not, therefore, search for precedents among our ancestors, but rather examine what was that policy of theirs to which the actual precedents owe their birth.

II. Lars Tolumnius, the king of the Veientines, put to death at Fidenae four ambassadors of the Roman people, whose statues stood down to the time of my recollection on the rostra.[1] It was a deserved honour; for to those that died in the service of the State our ancestors, as a return for the shortness of life, gave an everlasting memorial. We see on the rostra the statue of Cnaeus Octavius,[2] an illustrious and great man, who was the first to

postea viris fortissimis floruit, attulit consulatum, statuam videmus in rostris. Nemo tum novitati invidebat, nemo virtutem non honorabat. At ea fuit legatio Octavi, in qua periculi suspicio non subesset. Nam cum esset missus a senatu ad animos regum perspiciendos liberorumque populorum maximeque, ut nepotem regis Antiochi, eius, qui cum maioribus nostris bellum gesserat, classes habere, elephantos alere prohiberet, Laodiceae in gymnasio a quodam
5 Leptine est interfectus. Reddita est ei tum a maioribus statua pro vita, quae multos per annos progeniem eius honestaret, nunc ad tantae familiae memoriam sola restat.[1] Atqui et huic et Tullo Cluvio et L. Roscio et Sp. Antio et C. Fulcinio, qui a Veientium rege caesi sunt, non sanguis, qui est profusus in morte, sed ipsa mors ob rem publicam obita honori fuit.

III. Itaque, patres conscripti, si Ser. Sulpicio casus mortem attulisset, dolerem equidem tanto rei publicae vulnere, mortem vero eius non monimento, sed luctu publico esse ornandam putarem. Nunc autem quis dubitat, quin ei vitam abstulerit ipsa legatio? Secum enim ille mortem extulit, quam, si nobiscum remansisset, sua cura, optimi filii fide-
6 lissimaeque coniugis diligentia vitare potuisset. At ille cum videret, si vestrae auctoritati non paruisset, dissimilem se futurum sui, sin paruisset, munus sibi

[1] *Restaret* (MSS). The correction is Ernesti's, followed by Halm and Kayser.

bring a consulship into a family that was afterwards rich in gallant men. No man then grudged the new man his honours; none failed to pay homage to his virtue. But the embassy of Octavius was one where lurked no suspicion of danger; for having been sent by the Senate to observe the feelings of the kings and free populations, and in particular to forbid the grandson of King Antiochus, the king who had waged war with our ancestors, to maintain a fleet and to rear elephants, he was slain at Laodicea in the gymnasium by a certain Leptines. A statue was granted him then by our ancestors in return for the loss of his life, to ennoble his descendants for many years, and it remains now the sole record of so great a family. And yet in his case, and in those of Tullus Cluvius, and Lucius Roscius, and Spurius Antius, and Caius Fulcinius, who were slain by the king of the Veientines, it was not that their death was accompanied by bloodshed, but the simple fact of death in the public service that brought them honour.

III. Therefore, Conscript Fathers, if some accident had caused the death of Servius Sulpicius, I should indeed grieve that the State had suffered so great a wound, but should hold that his death deserved the honour, not of a monument, but of public mourning. But as it is, who doubts that it was the embassy, and nothing else, that robbed him of life? For he took death out with him; and this, had he remained with us, he might have avoided by his own care, and by the attention of his excellent son and most faithful wife. But seeing as he did that, if he did not obey your commission, he would be unlike himself, but that, if he obeyed, the com-

pro re publica susceptum vitae finem fore, maluit in maximo rei publicae discrimine emori quam minus, quam potuisset, videri rei publicae profuisse. Multis illi in urbibus, iter qua faciebat, reficiendi se et curandi potestas fuit. Aderat et hospitum invitatio liberalis pro dignitate summi viri et eorum hortatio, qui una erant missi, ad requiescendum et vitae suae consulendum. At ille properans, festinans, mandata vestra conficere cupiens in hac constantia morbo
7 adversante perseveravit. Cuius cum adventu maxime perturbatus esset Antonius, quod ea, quae sibi iussu vestro denuntiarentur, auctoritate erant et sententia Ser. Sulpici constituta, declaravit, quam odisset senatum, cum auctorem senatus exstinctum laete atque insolenter tulit.

Non igitur magis Leptines Octavium nec Veientium rex eos, quos modo nominavi, quam Ser. Sulpicium occidit Antonius; is enim profecto mortem attulit, qui causa mortis fuit. Quocirca etiam ad posteritatis memoriam pertinere arbitror extare, quod fuerit de hoc bello iudicium senatus; erit enim statua ipsa testis bellum tam grave fuisse, ut legati interitus honoris memoriam consecutus sit.

8 IV. Quodsi excusationem Ser. Sulpici, patres conscripti, legationis obeundae recordari volueritis, nulla dubitatio relinquetur, quin honore mortui, quam vivo iniuriam fecimus, sarciamus. Vos enim, patres conscripti (grave dictu est, sed dicendum

mission undertaken on behalf of the State would be fatal to his life, he chose at an important crisis of the State to die rather than to seem not to have assisted the State to the utmost of his power. In many cities on his journey he had the opportunity of recruiting and caring for his health. There were also liberal offers of hospitality, as befitting the dignity of so eminent a man, and the solicitation of those sent with him that he should take rest and consult his health. But he, hurrying, hastening on in his desire to fulfil your commands, persevered, while thwarted by disease, in this steadfast purpose. On his arrival Antonius was much disturbed that the injunctions laid upon him by your command had been laid down at the instance and on the opinion of Servius Sulpicius, and he displayed his hatred of the Senate by insolent delight at the death of the adviser of the Senate.

Leptines, therefore, did not kill Octavius, nor the king of the Veientines those I have mentioned, more certainly than Antonius killed Servius Sulpicius; for assuredly the man that was the cause of death also inflicted it. Wherefore I think it also concerns the enlightenment of posterity that it should be clearly manifested what was the judgment of the Senate on this war; for the statue will itself be a witness that the war was so serious that the death of an envoy won a memorial of honour.

IV. But if you are willing to call to mind, Conscript Fathers, the excuse Servius Sulpicius made for declining the embassy no doubt will be left that we should repair by honour to the dead the injury we inflicted on the living. For you, Conscript Fathers,—it is a heavy charge to make, yet I must

tamen), vos, inquam, Ser. Sulpicium vita privastis. Quem cum videretis re magis morbum quam oratione excusantem, non vos quidem crudeles fuistis (quid enim minus in hunc ordinem convenit?), sed, cum speraretis nihil esse, quod non illius auctoritate et sapientia effici posset, vehementius excusationi obstitistis atque eum, qui semper vestrum consensum
9 gravissimum iudicavisset, de sententia deiecistis. Ut vero Pansae consulis accessit cohortatio gravior, quam aures Ser. Sulpici ferre didicissent, tum vero denique filium meque seduxit atque ita locutus est, ut auctoritatem vestram vitae suae se diceret anteferre. Cuius nos virtutem admirati non ausi sumus adversari voluntati. Movebatur singulari pietate filius; non multum eius perturbationi meus dolor concedebat; sed uterque nostrum cedere cogebatur magnitudini animi orationisque gravitati, cum quidem ille maxima laude et gratulatione omnium vestrum pollicitus est se, quod velletis, esse facturum neque eius sententiae periculum vitaturum, cuius ipse auctor fuisset. Quem exsequi mandata vestra properantem mane postridie prosecuti sumus; qui quidem discedens mecum ita locutus est, ut eius oratio omen fati videretur.

10 V. Reddite igitur, patres conscripti, ei vitam, cui ademistis; vita enim mortuorum in memoria est posita vivorum. Perficite, ut is, quem vos inscii ad mortem misistis, immortalitatem habeat a vobis. Cui si statuam in rostris decreto vestro statueritis,

make it—you, I repeat, deprived Servius Sulpicius of life. When you saw him urging the excuse of illness rather by his looks than by his words, though you were not cruel—for what charge is less applicable to this body?—yet, in your expectation that there was nothing impossible of accomplishment by his authority and wisdom, you the more urgently withstood his excuses, and compelled the man who ever regarded your unanimous opinion as of the greatest weight to waive his decision. But when there was added an exhortation of the Consul Pansa, more impressive than Servius Sulpicius could listen to and resist, then at last he took me and his son aside, and used words which told us that he preferred to set your authority before his own life. We, in admiration of his virtue, did not venture to oppose his resolution. His son, a man of singular filial affection, was moved; and my sorrow did not fall short of his emotion: but each of us was forced to yield to his greatness of mind and to his impressive words, when amidst the fullest praises and congratulations of all of you, he promised to perform your wishes, and not to shun the danger attaching to the proposal of which he had been the author. On the next morning we escorted him on his departure as he hastened to fulfil your commands; and when he parted from us he spoke to me in words that seemed ominous of his fate.

V. Restore to him, therefore, Conscript Fathers, the life you have taken away; for the life of the dead is set in the memory of the living. Ensure that the man whom ignorantly *you* sent to his death shall win immortality at *your* hands. If by your decree you erect his statue on the rostra, no forgetfulness

nulla eius legationem posteritatis obscurabit oblivio. Nam reliqua Ser. Sulpici vita multis erit praeclarisque monumentis ad omnem memoriam commendata. Semper illius gravitatem, constantiam, fidem, praestantem in re publica tuenda curam atque prudentiam omnium mortalium fama celebrabit. Nec vero silebitur admirabilis quaedam et incredibilis ac paene divina eius in legibus interpretandis, aequitate explicanda scientia. Omnes ex omni aetate, qui in hac civitate intellegentiam iuris habuerunt, si unum in locum conferantur, cum Ser. Sulpicio non sint comparandi. Nec enim ille magis iuris
11 consultus quam iustitiae fuit; ita ea, quae proficiscebantur a legibus et ab iure civili, semper ad facilitatem aequitatemque referebat neque instituere litium actiones malebat quam controversias tollere. Ergo hoc statuae monimento non eget, habet alia maiora. Haec enim statua mortis honestae testis erit, illa memoria vitae gloriosae, ut hoc magis monimentum grati senatus quam clari viri futurum sit.

12 Multum etiam valuisse ad patris honorem pietas filii videbitur; qui quamquam adflictus luctu non adest, tamen sic animati esse debetis, ut si ille adesset. Est autem ita adfectus, ut nemo umquam unici filii mortem magis doluerit, quam ille maeret patris. Et quidem etiam ad famam Ser. Sulpici

of posterity will cloud the memory of his embassy. For in all other respects the life of Servius Sulpicius will have been commended to the recollection of all men by many splendid memorials. Ever will the report of all living men ennoble his dignity, steadfastness, and honour, and his pre-eminent care and prudence in the safeguarding of the State. Nor will there be unrecorded an admirable and marvellous and almost god-like knowledge in the interpretation of the laws, and the development of the principles of equity. All men of every age who in this community have understood jurisprudence, were they brought into one place, would not be comparable with Servius Sulpicius. For he was no greater as a master of jurisprudence than of justice; and thus he always referred provisions derived from statutes and from the civil law to a standard of lenient interpretation and equity; nor did he seek to set actions on foot rather than to do away with controversy. Therefore he requires not this memorial of a statue: he has other greater ones. For this statue will be a witness to his honourable death, those will recall his glorious life; so that this monument will rather be one to the gratitude of the Senate than to the celebrity of the man.

It will appear, too, that in honouring the father we have been much influenced by the affectionate devotion of the son, for although, broken down by grief, he is not present, you ought to be in the same mind as if he were present. But he is so overcome that no one ever felt more grief for an only son's death than he shows for a father's. And indeed it is also a matter, I think, that concerns the reputation of the son of Servius Sulpicius that

filii arbitror pertinere, ut videatur honorem debitum patri praestitisse. Quamquam nullum monimentum clarius Ser. Sulpicius relinquere potuit quam effigiem morum suorum, virtutis, constantiae, pietatis, ingenii filium, cuius luctus aut hoc honore vestro aut nullo solacio levari potest.

13 VI. Mihi autem recordanti Ser. Sulpici multos in nostra familiaritate sermones gratior illi videtur, si qui est sensus in morte, aënea statua futura, et ea pedestris, quam inaurata equestris, qualis L. Sullae primum statuta est; mirifice enim Servius maiorum continentiam diligebat, huius saeculi insolentiam vituperabat. Ut igitur, si ipsum consulam, quid velit, sic pedestrem ex aere statuam tamquam ex eius auctoritate et voluntate decerno; quae quidem magnum civium dolorem et desiderium honore

14 monimenti minuet et leniet. Atque hanc meam sententiam, patres conscripti, P. Servili sententia comprobari necesse est, qui sepulchrum publice decernendum Ser. Sulpicio censuit, statuam non censuit. Nam, si mors legati sine caede atque ferro nullum honorem desiderat, cur decernit honorem sepulturae, qui maximus haberi potest mortuo? Sin id tribuit Ser. Sulpicio, quod non est datum Cn. Octavio, cur, quod illi datum est, huic dandum esse non censet? Maiores quidem nostri statuas multis decreverunt, sepulchra paucis. Sed statuae intereunt tempestate, vi, vetustate, sepulchrorum

[1] See n. 2, p. 402.

he should be seen to have secured for his father his due honour. And yet no brighter monument could Servius Sulpicius have left than the likeness of his own character, his virtues, steadfastness, affection, and genius—than that son, whose grief can be alleviated by this honour as by no consolation besides.

VI. To me, as I recall the many conversations I had with Servius Sulpicius in the course of our friendship, it seems that a bronze statue, and one on foot, will, if there be any consciousness in death, be more pleasing to him than a gilt and equestrian one, such as was first set up for Lucius Sulla; for Servius had a wonderful liking for the moderation of our ancestors and censured the indulgence of the present age. As if, therefore, I were consulting him as to his wish, I propose, following as it were his authority and wishes, a bronze statue on foot, which indeed, as being a memorial of honour, will lessen and assuage the great grief and regret of all citizens. And this proposal of mine, Conscript Fathers, is necessarily endorsed by the proposal of Publius Servilius, whose opinion has been that a public funeral should be decreed to Servius Sulpicius, but not a statue. For if the death of an ambassador without bloodshed and violence call for no honour, why does he propose the honour of a public funeral, the greatest honour that can be paid to a dead man? But if he grant to Servius Sulpicius what was not given to Cnaeus Octavius,[1] why does he disagree that what was given to him should also be given to Sulpicius? Our ancestors indeed decreed statues to many, public funerals to few. But statues perish by weather, violence, and age; of sepulchres the

autem sanctitas in ipso solo est, quod nulla vi moveri neque deleri potest, atque, ut cetera extinguuntur, sic sepulchra sanctiora fiunt vetustate.

15 Augeatur igitur isto honore etiam is vir, cui nullus honos tribui non debitus potest; grati simus in eius morte decoranda, cui nullam iam aliam gratiam referre possumus. Notetur etiam M. Antoni nefarium bellum gerentis scelerata audacia; his enim honoribus habitis Ser. Sulpicio repudiatae reiectaeque legationis ab Antonio manebit testificatio sempiterna.

VII. Quas ob res ita censeo:

"Cum Ser. Sulpicius Q. f. Lemonia Rufus difficillimo rei publicae tempore gravi periculosoque morbo adfectus auctoritatem senatus, salutem rei publicae vitae suae praeposuerit contraque vim gravitatemque morbi contenderit, ut in castra M. Antoni, quo senatus eum miserat, perveniret, isque cum iam prope castra venisset, vi morbi oppressus vitam amiserit maximo rei publicae tempore, eiusque mors consentanea vitae fuerit sanctissime honestissimeque actae, in qua saepe magno usui rei publicae Ser. Sulpicius et privatus et in magistratibus fuerit: cum
16 talis vir ob rem publicam in legatione mortem obierit,

[1] As having been consecrated by rites and ceremonies. Cic. says (*De Legg.* 2. 22): "*Nec tamen eorum ante sepulchrum est quam justa facta, et corpus incensum est.*" Until these rites were performed a corpse was merely *situs*, not *sepultus*. Those rites expressed a belief (*cf.* Cic. *Tusc.* i. 12) that death was not annihilation, but "as it were a migration of life, which remained in the earth."

sanctity is in the very soil,[1] which cannot be moved or obliterated by violence; and so, while other things come to an end, sepulchres become more sanctified by age.

Therefore let him also, to whom no tribute can be paid that is undeserved, be dignified by this proposed honour; let us show our gratitude in honouring the death of the man to whom we can now pay no other tribute of gratitude. Let there be also branded with shame the accursed audacity of Marcus Antonius, now waging a wicked war; for if these honours are conferred on Servius Sulpicius, the record of the embassy that has been repudiated and rejected by Antonius will remain everlasting.

VII. For these reasons I propose as follows:

"Whereas Servius Sulpicius Rufus, the son of Quintus, of the Lemonian tribe, in a most difficult crisis of the State, although suffering from a serious and dangerous malady, preferred the authority of the Senate and the safety of the State to his own life, and struggled with the violence and severity of his malady in order to reach the camp of Marcus Antonius whither the Senate had sent him, and when he had very nearly reached the camp, lost his life overcome by the violence of his malady at a most serious crisis of the State, and his death has been in accordance with a life passed in the greatest purity and honour, in which Servius Sulpicius was, both in a private station and in office, often of great service to the State; and whereas so good a man met with death while ambassador in the service of the State; it is the pleasure of the Senate that, by the vote

senatui placere Ser. Sulpicio statuam pedestrem aëneam in rostris ex huius ordinis sententia statui, circumque eam statuam locum ludis gladiatoribusque liberos posterosque eius quoquo versus pedes quinque habere, quod is ob rem publicam mortem obierit, eamque causam in basi inscribi; utique C. Pansa, A. Hirtius, consules, alter ambove, si iis videatur, quaestoribus urbis imperent, ut eam basim statuamque faciendam et in rostris statuendam locent, quantique locaverint, tantam pecuniam redemptori adtribuendam solvendamque curent. Cumque antea senatus auctoritatem suam in virorum fortium funeribus ornamentisque ostenderit, placere eum quam
17 amplissume supremo suo die efferri. Et cum Ser. Sulpicius Q. f. Lemonia Rufus ita de re publica meritus sit, ut iis ornamentis decorari debeat, senatum censere atque e re publica existimare aediles curules edictum, quod de funeribus habeant, Ser. Sulpici Q. f. Lemonia Rufi funeri remittere; utique locum sepulchro in campo Esquilino C. Pansa consul, seu quo in loco videbitur, pedes triginta quoquo versus adsignet, quo Ser. Sulpicius inferatur; quod sepulchrum ipsius, liberorum posterorumque eius esset, uti quod optimo iure publice sepulchrum datum esset."

[1] This statue was still standing in the time of Pomponius the jurist (*temp.* Hadrian, second century A.D.).

[2] The rostra was a raised platform facing the Forum at the foot of the Capitoline hill, from which speeches to the people used to be made. This platform was decorated with the ships' beaks (hence the name) captured from Antium in the Latin War of 340–338 B.C.

of their body, a bronze statue [1] on foot be erected to Servius Sulpicius on the rostra, and that round that statue there be a space of five feet on all sides reserved for his children and descendants to view the games and gladiatorial shows, because he has met his death in the service of the State, and that the reason thereof be inscribed upon the pedestal; and that Caius Pansa and Aulus Hirtius, the consuls, one or both, do, if it seem good to them, order the city quaestors to let out the construction of the pedestal and statue, and their erection on the rostra,[2] and do see that the contract-price be appropriated and paid to the contractor. And whereas the Senate has ere now shown its authority in the public funerals of, and distinction conferred on, brave men, it is the Senate's pleasure that Sulpicius on the day of his funeral be carried out with the most ample ceremony. And whereas Servius Sulpicius Rufus, the son of Quintus, of the Lemonian tribe, has deserved so well of the State that he ought to be honoured with these distinctions, the Senate decrees, and considers it in the interests of the State, that the curule aediles suspend their edict applying to funerals [3] as regards the funeral of Servius Sulpicius Rufus, the son of Quintus, of the Lemonian tribe; and that Caius Pansa, the consul, assign for the burial a space of thirty feet in all directions in the Campus Esquilinus, or in such place as seems good to him, to receive the body of Servius Sulpicius; and that this burial-place be also for his children and descendants with the soundest title conferred by the State for a burial-place."

[3] Regulating the expenses.

INTRODUCTION TO PHILIPPIC X

At the date of the tenth Philippic the position with regard to the provinces of Cisalpine Gaul, Macedonia, and Syria was complicated. These provinces had been respectively assigned by J. Caesar for the year 43 to D. Brutus, M. Brutus, and C. Cassius, and his disposition had been ratified by the Senate on March 18; but it was afterwards repeatedly changed, whether by the Senate or by the people in their tribes. The legal title was further confused by the senatorial decree on December 20, 44 B.C., whereby the Senate annulled, or attempted to annul, previous appointments, and (with regard to Macedonia) by the fact that its assignment to C. Antonius (which C. repudiates: *Phil.* 10. 5), being made after nightfall, was actually illegal. Moreover Cicero, for the purposes of his argument, acknowledges (*Phil.* 11. 12) that Brutus had no legal right to Macedonia, nor Cassius to Syria. It is, however, sufficient to say here that, whatever may have been the strict rights at the date of the present speech, in three of the provinces there were rival claimants: in Cisalpine Gaul D. Brutus and M. Antonius, in Macedonia M. Brutus and C. Antonius, and in Syria C. Cassius and L. Dolabella.

Some time, probably about the beginning of March, M. Brutus had sent to the Senate a dispatch in which he informed them of the state of affairs in Macedonia and Greece. "There the former proconsul, Q. Hortensius, had acknowledged the

authority of M. Brutus as his successor; Antonius' brother Caius was shut up in Apollonia, and the place was closely invested. Legion after legion declared against him, and one of them went over to Cicero's son, young Marcus, who was serving with Brutus:" Forsyth's *Cic.* p. 493. When this dispatch reached Rome the Consul Pansa immediately summoned the Senate. The question he propounded to them was whether Brutus should be formally given the command in the provinces which he in fact held by the sword. Pansa in his speech highly praised the action of Brutus, but, in his usual fashion, called upon Calenus to express his opinion first, and Calenus advised that Brutus should be deprived of his command. Cicero followed with the tenth Philippic.

After praising Pansa for his speech, he asks Calenus why he was perpetually declaring war against the Brutuses, and twits him for never being able to secure a supporter. He proceeded to praise the character of M. Brutus, and said that, if it had not been for his opposition to C. Antonius, they would have lost Macedonia and Greece, countries which would be either a retreat for M. Antonius, or a starting-ground for an invasion of Italy; that C. Antonius' march was one of plunder and devastation, whereas Brutus brought with him security; that the legions had seen this; and that it was a vain fear that the veterans would be offended. If nothing could be done for fear of offending the veterans, then it was high time to choose death instead of slavery. That M. Brutus with his army was a bulwark against the two Antoniuses. Accordingly the Senate ought to confirm by a public decree what Brutus was doing by his private counsel.

He therefore moved that M. Brutus should be commended; that he should retain his command, and be ordered to protect Macedonia, Illyricum, and Greece, with authority to levy public moneys and to make requisitions; and that Hortensius should remain proconsul of Macedonia until his successor was appointed by the Senate. These proposals were carried.

M. TULLI CICERONIS IN M. ANTONIUM ORATIO PHILIPPICA DECIMA

I. Maximas tibi, Pansa, gratias omnes et habere et
1 agere debemus, qui, cum hodierno die senatum te
habiturum non arbitraremur, ut M. Bruti, praestan-
tissimi civis, litteras accepisti, ne minimam quidem
moram interposuisti, quin quam primum maximo
gaudio et gratulatione frueremur. Cum factum
tuum gratum omnibus debet esse, tum vero oratio,
qua recitatis litteris usus es; declarasti enim verum
esse id, quod ego semper sensi, neminem alterius,
qui suae confideret, virtuti invidere. Itaque mihi,
qui plurimis officiis sum cum Bruto et maxima famili-
2 aritate coniunctus, minus multa de illo dicenda sunt;
quas enim ipse mihi partis sumpseram, eas praecepit
oratio tua. Sed mihi, patres conscripti, necessitatem
attulit paulo plura dicendi sententia eius, qui rogatus
est ante me; a quo ita saepe dissentio, ut iam verear
ne, id quod fieri minime debet, minuere amicitiam
nostram videatur perpetua dissensio.
3 Quae est enim ista tua ratio, Calene, quae mens,
ut numquam post Kalendas Ianuarias idem senseris,
quod is, qui te sententiam primum rogat, numquam
tam frequens senatus fuerit, ut unus aliquis senten-

[1] Q. Fufius Calenus, the father-in-law of the Consul Pansa. For this reason perhaps he was called upon first, the choice being in the discretion of the consul. The usual course was to call upon one of the consuls elect.

[2] The Consul Pansa.

THE TENTH PHILIPPIC OF M. TULLIUS CICERO AGAINST M. ANTONIUS

We ought, Pansa, to feel and to express the greatest gratitude to you; for, although we did not think you would hold a meeting of the Senate to-day, yet, since you received the letter of that most distinguished citizen, Marcus Brutus, you have not allowed even a moment's delay to prevent our enjoyment at the earliest opportunity of so great a cause of delight and congratulation. This action of yours should be welcome to all, and especially the speech you made when you had read the letter; for you showed it to be true, as I have always felt, that no man grudges another's merit who is conscious of his own. Accordingly I, whose association with Brutus springs from very many kindly offices and the closest friendship, need not say much of him; for the part I had assumed for myself your speech has anticipated. But I am compelled, Conscript Fathers, by the opinion of the Senator[1] who was called on before me to say somewhat more; I dissent so often from him that I am already apprehensive that—though nothing of the kind ought to result—my continual dissent may diminish our friendship.

For on what principle, Calenus, with what purpose is it, that never since the Kalends of January have you expressed an opinion in agreement with him[2] who calls upon you first? that the Senate has never been so full that a single Senator

tiam tuam secutus sit? Cur semper tui dissimiles defendis, cur, cum te et vita et fortuna tua ad otium, ad dignitatem invitet, ea probas, ea decernis, ea sentis, quae sint inimica et otio communi et dignitati tuae?

II. Nam ut superiora omittam, hoc certe, quod
4 mihi maximam admirationem movet, non tacebo. Quod est tibi cum Brutis bellum? cur eos, quos omnes paene venerari debemus, solus oppugnas? Alterum circumsederi non moleste fers, alterum tua sententia spolias iis copiis, quas ipse suo labore et periculo ad rei publicae, non ad suum praesidium per se nullo adiuvante confecit. Qui est iste tuus sensus, quae cogitatio, Brutos ut non probes, Antonios probes; quos omnes carissimos habent, tu oderis, quos acerbissime ceteri oderunt, tu constantissime diligas? Amplissimae tibi fortunae sunt, summus honoris gradus, filius, ut et audio et spero, natus ad laudem, cui cum rei publicae causa faveo, tum etiam
5 tua. Quaero igitur, eum Brutine similem malis an Antoni, ac permitto, ut de tribus Antoniis eligas, quem velis. "Di meliora!" inquies. Cur igitur non iis faves, eos laudas, quorum similem tuum filium esse vis? simul enim et rei publicae consules et propones illi exempla ad imitandum.

Hoc vero, Q. Fufi, cupio sine offensione nostrae

[1] The Brutuses mentioned are respectively Dec. and M. Brutus.

supported your opinion? Why are you always defending men unlike yourself? why, when your life and fortune invite you to the enjoyment of ease and dignity, do you approve, propose, and sympathise with measures inimical to general tranquillity and to your own dignity?

II. For—to say nothing of former matters—this one thing at least, which causes me the greatest wonder, I will not pass over. What war is this you wage against the Brutuses? why do you alone attack those whom we all ought almost to revere? That one of them is being besieged causes you no trouble; the other[1] you are by your proposal robbing of those forces which he of his own motion and at his own risk, and with no assistance, has got together for the protection of the State, not for his own. What is your feeling, what your idea, that you think ill of the Brutuses, well of the Antonii? that those whom we all hold most dear you hate? and those whom the rest hate most bitterly you most consistently love? You have a most ample fortune, the highest rank of honour, a son who —as I hear and hope—is born to win eminence, and whom I wish well for the sake of the State, and especially for yours. I ask then, would you prefer him to be like Brutus or like an Antonius? and I allow you to choose which of the three Antonii you wish. "Heaven forbid!" you will say. Why then do you not support, not eulogise those whom you wish your son to resemble? for you will then at the same time consult the interest of the State and set before him examples for imitation.

But there is one point, Quintus Fufius, on which, without injury to our friendship, but as a Senator

amicitiae sic tecum ut a te dissentiens senator queri. Ita enim dixisti, et quidem de scripto (nam te inopia verbi lapsum putarem [nisi tuam in dicendo facultatem nossem]),[1] litteras Bruti recte et ordine scriptas videri. Quid est aliud librarium Bruti
6 laudare, non Brutum? Usum in re publica, Calene, magnum iam habere et debes et potes. Quando ita decerni vidisti, aut quo senatus consulto huius generis (sunt enim innumerabilia), bene scriptas litteras decretum a senatu? Quod verbum tibi non excidit, ut saepe fit, fortuito; scriptum, meditatum, cogitatum attulisti.

III. Hanc tibi consuetudinem plerisque in rebus bonis obtrectandi si qui detraxerit, quid tibi, quod sibi quisque velit, non relinquetur? Quam ob rem collige te placaque animum istum aliquando et mitiga, audi viros bonos, quibus multis uteris, loquere cum sapientissimo homine genero tuo saepius quam ipse tecum; tum denique amplissimi honoris nomen optinebis. An vero hoc pro nihilo putas, in quo quidem pro amicitia tuam vicem dolere soleo, efferri hoc foras et ad populi Romani aures pervenire, ei, qui primus sententiam dixerit, neminem adsensum? Quod etiam hodie futurum arbitror.

Legiones abducis a Bruto. Quas? nempe eas, quas ille a C. Antoni scelere avertit et ad rem publicam sua auctoritate traduxit. Rursus igitur vis

[1] The words in brackets are found in some MSS. but their addition somewhat confuses the argument.

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[1] A very forced criticism. "*Recte et ordine*" means "rightly and properly"; cf. the last ch. (*recte et ordine fecisse*). Cal. referred no doubt only to the tone of the letter.

disagreeing with you, I wish to expostulate with you. You said, and that from a written draft—else I should imagine you had made a slip for want of a word [did I not know your readiness of speech]—you said the letter of Brutus seemed written "well and regularly."[1] What is this but the praise of Brutus' secretary, not of Brutus? You ought to have by now, Calenus—as you well may—great experience in State affairs. When have you seen such a decree? or in what Senatorial resolution of this kind—they have been innumerable—a decree by the Senate that letters have been well written? The phrase did not escape you, as often happens, by accident; you brought it in writing, thought out and pondered.

III. If someone would purge you of this habit of carping at good men on most occasions, will you not have every quality left which any man might desire for himself? Wherefore pull yourself together, and at length pacify and compose your mind; listen to good men, of whom you associate with many; converse with that wisest of men, your son-in-law, oftener than with yourself—then at length will you win a name of the fullest distinction. Do you really think it nothing—here indeed, having regard to our friendship, I often grieve on your account—that it should be wafted abroad, and reach the ears of the Roman people, that the Senator who first gave his vote found no supporter? I think this will also be the case to-day.

You wish to withdraw the legions from Brutus. What legions? those, of course, which he saved from aiding the crimes of Antonius, and on his own authority transferred to the State. You

nudatum illum atque solum a re publica relegatum videri. Vos autem, patres conscripti, si M. Brutum
7 deserueritis et prodideritis, quem tandem civem umquam ornabitis, cui favebitis? nisi forte eos, qui diadema imposuerint, conservandos, eos, qui regni nomen sustulerint, deserendos putatis. Ac de hac quidem divina atque immortali laude Bruti silebo, quae gratissima memoria omnium civium inclusa nondum publica auctoritate testata est. Tantamne patientiam, di boni, tantam moderationem, tantam in iniuria tranquillitatem et modestiam! qui cum praetor urbis esset, urbe caruit, ius non dixit, cum omne ius rei publicae recuperavisset, cumque concursu cotidiano bonorum omnium, qui admirabilis ad eum fieri solebat, praesidioque Italiae cunctae saeptus posset esse, apsens iudicio bonorum defensus esse maluit quam praesens manu; qui ne Apollinares quidem ludos pro sua populique Romani dignitate apparatos praesens fecit, ne quam viam patefaceret sceleratissimorum hominum audaciae.

IV. Quamquam qui umquam aut ludi aut dies
8 laetiores fuerunt, quam cum in singulis versibus populus Romanus maximo clamore et plausu Bruti memoriam prosequebatur? Corpus aberat liberatoris, libertatis memoria aderat; in qua Bruti imago cern

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[1] Both M. Brutus and Cassius had been compelled, in peril of their lives, to leave Rome finally, probably in April 44: cf. *Phil.* ii. 13 (*quos tu expulsos praedicas et relegatos*).

[2] Antonius. [3] Caesar's assassination.

[4] From the *Tereus* of Accius; cf. *Phil.* i. 15.

wish then that a second time[1] he should appear a defenceless and solitary exile from the State. But you, Conscript Fathers—if you abandon and betray Marcus Brutus, what citizen, I ask, will you ever distinguish? whom will you countenance? unless perhaps you think that those who set the diadem on Caesar's head[2] should be upheld, but those who abolished the title of king should be abandoned. And here of the god-like and immortal exploit of Brutus[3] I will say nothing; it is enshrined in the grateful remembrance of all, though not yet attested by public authority. Good Heavens! what patience he showed, what moderation, what calmness and modesty in the face of wrong! Though he was urban praetor he left the city; he held no courts, though he had recovered for the State all law; and though he might have been surrounded day by day by a concourse of all good men—and a wonderful throng usually followed him—and by the bodyguard of the whole of Italy, he chose rather to be defended by the opinion of good men in his absence than by their swords in his presence. He did not even celebrate in person the Apollinarian games, which had been planned in a style befitting his own dignity and that of the Roman people, lest he should open a way to the audacious attempts of the most atrocious criminals.

IV. Yet what games or festivals were ever more joyous than when, in answer to individual verses,[4] the Roman people with the loudest shouts and applause greeted the memory of Brutus? The person of the liberator was absent, of the liberty the memory was there; and therein the very

videbatur. At hunc iis ipsis ludorum diebus videbam in insula clarissimi adulescentis, Luculli, propinqui sui, nihil nisi de pace et concordia civium cogitantem. Eundem vidi postea Veliae cedentem Italia, ne qua oreretur belli civilis causa propter se. O spectaculum illud non modo hominibus, sed undis ipsis et litoribus luctuosum, cedere e patria servatorem eius, manere in patria perditores! Cassi classis paucis post diebus consequebatur, ut me puderet, patres conscripti, in eam urbem redire, ex qua illi abirent. Sed quo consilio redierim, initio audistis, post estis
9 experti. Exspectatum igitur tempus a Bruto est; nam, quoad vos omnia pati vidit, usus est ipse incredibili patientia; posteaquam vos ad libertatem sensit erectos, praesidia vestrae libertati paravit.

At cui pesti quantaeque restitit! Si enim C. Antonius, quod animo intenderat, perficere potuisset (potuisset autem, nisi eius sceleri virtus M. Bruti obstitisset), Macedoniam, Illyricum, Graeciam perdidissemus; esset vel receptaculum pulso Antonio vel agger oppugnandae Italiae Graecia; quae quidem nunc M. Bruti imperio, auctoritate, copiis non instructa solum, sed etiam ornata tendit dexteram Italiae suumque ei praesidium pollicetur; quod qui ab illo abducit exercitum, et respectum pulcherri-

[1] Nesis, between Puteoli and Neapolis; Cic. *Epp. ad Att.* 16. 1–4.

[2] In the first Philippic.

[3] He had, about the end of Nov. 44 B.C., left Rome to take up the government of Macedonia, which had been allotted to him in the "*religiosa sortitio*" of Nov. 28: cf. *Phil.* iii. 10. 24. The title to this, and other provinces, was complicated. See Intr. to this speech.

image of Brutus seemed to be visible. But during those very days of the games I saw him on the island[1] of that most noble young man, Lucullus, his neighbour, thinking of nothing but of peace and of the concord of his fellow-citizens. I saw him also afterwards at Velia when he was departing from Italy that no occasion for civil war should arise on his account. Oh, what a sight was that, mournful, not for men merely, but for the very waves and shores! that from his country her saviour should be departing, that in his country her destroyers should remain! The fleet of Cassius followed a few days after, so that I was ashamed, Conscript Fathers, to return to that city whence they were departing. But my purpose in returning you have heard at the beginning,[2] and have afterwards learnt by experience. Brutus, therefore, has bided his time; for so long as he saw you put up with everything he maintained a marvellous patience; after he saw you alert to win your liberty, he has made ready a safeguard for your liberty

And what a monstrous pest he withstood! For if Caius Antonius[3] could have carried out his intention —and he might have done so had not the courage of Marcus Brutus opposed his crime—we should have lost Macedonia, Illyricum, and Greece; Greece would have been either a refuge for Antonius if defeated, or a rampart from which to attack Italy; but now in fact, being, by the military command, the authority, and the forces of Marcus Brutus, not merely ready, but even fully furnished for war, she stretches out her hand to Italy, and promises her protection; and he who withdraws from Brutus his

mum et praesidium firmissimum adimit rei publicae.
10 Equidem cupio haec quam primum Antonium audire, ut intellegat non D. Brutum, quem vallo circumsedeat, sed se ipsum obsideri.

V. Tria tenet oppida toto in orbe terrarum, habet inimicissimam Galliam, eos etiam, quibus confidebat, alienissimos, Transpadanos; Italia omnis infesta est; exterae nationes a prima ora Graeciae usque ad Aegyptum optimorum et fortissimorum civium imperiis et praesidiis tenentur. Erat ei spes una in C. Antonio, qui duorum fratrum aetatibus medius interiectus vitiis cum utroque certabat. Is tamquam extruderetur a senatu in Macedoniam et non contra prohiberetur proficisci, ita cucurrit. Quae tempestas,
11 di immortales, quae flamma, quae vastitas, quae pestis Graeciae fuisset, nisi incredibilis ac divina virtus furentis hominis conatum atque audaciam compressisset! quae celeritas illa Bruti, quae cura, quae virtus! Etsi ne C. quidem Antoni celeritas contemnenda est, quem nisi in via caducae hereditates retardassent, volasse eum, non iter fecisse diceres. Alios ad negotium publicum ire cum cupimus, vix solemus extrudere, hunc retinentes extrusimus. At quid ei cum Apollonia, quid cum Dyrrachio, quid cum Illyrico, quid cum P. Vatini imperatoris exercitu?

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[1] Bononia, Regium Lepidi (Reggio), and Parma: Cic. *Epp. ad Fam.* 12. 5.

[2] The allotment of Macedonia on Nov. 28 (*Phil.* iii. 10) to C. Ant. having been annulled by the decree concerning provinces on Dec. 20 (*ibid.* 15).

[3] Which he seized, thus robbing those legally entitled.

[4] C. goes on to argue that, even if C. Antonius had a claim to Macedonia, yet he had none to the other provinces, or to the legions of Vatinius, the proconsul in Illyricum. And if M. Brutus had none either, yet he had a moral claim, as he was supporting the State.

army robs the State of a most favourable refuge and of the strongest bulwark. As for myself, I wish Antonius to hear of this as soon as possible, so as to understand that it is not Decimus Brutus he is surrounding with his palisade, but that he himself is being besieged.

V. He holds just three towns[1] in the whole world; he has Gaul bitterly hostile, and those too on whom he trusted much alienated, the Transpadanes; all Italy is unfriendly; foreign nations, from the nearest shores of Greece as far as Egypt, are held by garrisons in the command of the most loyal and bravest citizens. His single hope was in Caius Antonius, who, coming in age between his two brothers, was in vice the rival of them both; and Caius ran off so quickly that he might have been thrust by the Senate into Macedonia and not, on the contrary, forbidden[2] to set out. Heavens! what a storm, what a blaze, what a devastation, what a plague would there have been in Greece if incredible and god-like valour had not crushed the madman's audacious enterprise! How quick Brutus was then! how resourceful! how valiant! However, even in Caius Antonius quickness is not to be despised: had not some lapsed inheritances[3] delayed him on the way, you would have said he flew rather than marched. When we wish other men to proceed on some public business we as a rule thrust them out with difficulty: this man we thrust out by trying to keep him back.[4] But what had he to do with Apollonia? with Dyrrachium? with Illyricum? with the army of the general Publius Vatinius? He suc-

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Succedebat, ut ipse dicebat, Hortensio. Certi fines Macedoniae, certa condicio, certus, si modo erat ullus, exercitus; cum Illyrico vero et cum Vatini legionibus quid erat Antonio? "At ne Bruto quidem";
12 id enim fortasse quispiam improbus dixerit. Omnes legiones, omnes copiae, quae ubique sunt, rei publicae sunt; nec enim eae legiones, quae M. Antonium reliquerunt, Antoni potius quam rei publicae fuisse dicentur. Omne enim et exercitus et imperii ius amittit is, qui eo imperio et exercitu rem publicam oppugnat.

VI. Quodsi ipsa res publica iudicaret, aut si omne ius decretis eius statueretur, Antonione an Bruto legiones populi Romani adiudicaret? Alter advolarat subito ad direptionem pestemque sociorum, ut, quacumque iret, omnia vastaret, diriperet, auferret, exercitu populi Romani contra ipsum populum Romanum uteretur; alter eam legem sibi statuerat, ut, quocumque venisset, lux venisse quaedam et spes salutis videretur. Denique alter ad evertendam rem publicam praesidia quaerebat, alter ad conservandam. Nec vero nos hoc magis videbamus quam ipsi milites, a quibus tanta in iudicando prudentia non erat postulanda.

13 Cum VII cohortibus esse Apolloniae scribit Antonium. Qui iam aut captus est (quod di duint!) aut certe homo verecundus in Macedoniam non accedit, ne contra senatus consultum fecisse videatur. Di-

ceeded, as he himself asserted, Hortensius. There are fixed boundaries to Macedonia, fixed conditions of tenure, a fixed army, if it had any; but with Illyricum and with the legions of Vatinius what had Antonius to do? "Or Brutus either," for that some unfriendly person will perhaps say. All the legions, all the forces anywhere belong to the State; for not even those legions that deserted Marcus Antonius can be said to have belonged to Antonius rather than to the State. For all right to an army and to military command is lost by the man who uses that command and that army to attack the State.

VI. But should the State itself pass judgment, or if right were wholly determined by its decrees, is it to Antonius or to Brutus it would assign the legions of the Roman people? The one had suddenly taken flight to plunder and destroy the allies, so that, wherever he went, he devastated, plundered, and robbed everything, and employed an army of the Roman people against the Roman people itself; the other had laid down this law for himself that, wherever he came, light, as it were, and hope of salvation should seem to have come with him. In short, the one looked for supports to overturn the State, the other to preserve it. Nor indeed was this plainer to us than to the soldiers themselves, from whom no such clearness of judgment was to be looked for.

He writes that Antonius is at Apollonia with seven legions. He is either already a prisoner—which Heaven grant!—or at least, being a modest man, he does not venture to enter Macedonia, so as to avoid the appearance of acting against the Senate's decree.

lectus habitus in Macedonia est summo Q. Hortensi studio et industria, cuius animum egregium dignumque ipso et maioribus eius ex Bruti litteris perspicere potuistis. Legio, quam L. Piso ducebat, legatus Antoni, Ciceroni se filio meo tradidit. Equitatus, qui in Syriam ducebatur bipertito, alter eum quaestorem, a quo ducebatur, reliquit in Thessalia seseque ad Brutum contulit, alterum in Macedonia Cn. Domitius adulescens summa virtute, gravitate, constantia a legato Syriaco abduxit. P. autem Vatinius, qui et antea iure laudatus a vobis et hoc tempore merito laudandus est, aperuit Dyrrachi portas Bruto
14 et exercitum tradidit.

Tenet igitur res publica Macedoniam, tenet Illyricum, tuetur Graeciam; nostrae sunt legiones, nostra levis armatura, noster equitatus, maximeque noster est Brutus semperque noster cum sua excellentissima virtute rei publicae natus, tum fato quodam paterni maternique generis et nominis.

VII. Ab hoc igitur viro quisquam bellum timet, qui, antequam nos id coacti suscepimus, in pace iacere quam in bello vigere maluit? Quamquam ille quidem numquam iacuit, neque hoc cadere verbum in tantam virtutis praestantiam potest. Erat enim in desiderio civitatis, in ore, in sermone omnium; tantum autem aberat a bello, ut, cum cupiditate libertatis Italia arderet, defuerit civium studiis potius quam eos in armorum discrimen

A levy has been held in Macedonia through the consummate zeal and assiduity of Quintus Hortensius, a man whose extraordinary spirit, worthy of himself and of his ancestors, you have been enabled to gauge from the letter of Brutus. The legion which Caius Piso, the legate of Antonius, was commanding has transferred itself to my son Cicero. Of the cavalry, which was being marched into Syria in two divisions, one division has left its commander, the quaestor, in Thessaly, and has joined Brutus; the other in Macedonia Cnaeus Domitius, a young man of the highest valour, resolution, and steadiness, has withdrawn from the legate of Syria. And Publius Vatinius, who has been before rightly commended by you, and is at this time rightly worthy of commendation, has opened to Brutus the gates of Dyrrachium and handed over his army.

The State therefore is in possession of Macedonia, of Illyricum, and is guarding Greece; ours are the legions, ours the light-armed troops, ours the cavalry; and above all Brutus is and always will be ours, born as he is to serve the State, not only by his preeminent virtue, but by some design of fate attaching to his father's and to his mother's race and name.

VII. Is it from this man then that anyone fears war, a man who, before we were forced to take up war, preferred obscurity in peace to success in war? Not that indeed he was ever obscure; such a phrase cannot attach to such eminence of virtue. For the State pined for him; he was on every lip, and the theme of all men's talk; but he was so averse from war that, although Italy was afire with longing for liberty, he failed to second the zeal of his fellow-citizens rather than bring them into the risk of

adduceret. Itaque illi ipsi, si qui sunt, qui tarditatem Bruti reprehendant, tamen idem moderationem patientiamque mirantur.

15 Sed iam video, quae loquantur; neque enim id occulte faciunt. Timere se dicunt, quo modo ferant veterani exercitum Brutum habere. Quasi vero quicquam intersit inter A. Hirti, C. Pansae, D. Bruti, C. Caesaris et hunc exercitum M. Bruti. Nam, si quattuor exercitus ii, de quibus dixi, propterea laudantur, quod pro populi Romani libertate arma ceperunt, quid est, cur hic M. Bruti exercitus non in eadem causa ponatur? At enim veteranis suspectum nomen est M. Bruti. Magisne quam Decimi? Equidem non arbitror; etsi est enim Brutorum commune factum et laudis societas aequa, Decimo tamen eo iratiores erant ii, qui id factum dolebant, quo minus ab eo rem illam dicebant fieri debuisse. Quid ergo agunt nunc tot exercitus, nisi ut obsidione Brutus liberetur? qui autem hos exercitus ducunt? Ii, credo, qui C. Caesaris acta everti, qui causam veteranorum prodi volunt.

VIII. Si ipse viveret C. Caesar, acrius, credo,
16 acta sua defenderet, quam vir fortissimus defendit Hirtius, aut amicior causae quisquam inveniri potest quam filius. At horum alter nondum ex longinquitate gravissimi morbi recreatus, quicquid habuit virium, id in eorum libertatem defendendam contulit, quorum votis iudicavit se a morte revocatum, alter virtutis

[1] The murder of Caesar.

[2] He had been a favourite of Julius, had received Cisalpine Gaul from him, and been mentioned in his will.

[3] This is, of course, ironical. C.'s argument is that the veterans cannot distrust those who are defending J. Caesar's cause.

[4] Octavianus, the younger Caesar.

battle. Therefore the very persons—if any such there be—who censure the slowness of Brutus, yet at the same time admire his moderation and patience.

But I see now what they say; for they make no concealment. They say they are afraid how the veterans will take Brutus' possession of the army. As if there were any difference between the army of Aulus Hirtius, of Caius Pansa, of Decimus Brutus, and of Caius Caesar, and this army of Marcus Brutus! For if those four armies I have mentioned are commended for taking up arms on behalf of the liberty of the Roman people, what reason is there why this army of Marcus Brutus is not placed in the same category? Oh, but the name of Marcus Brutus is suspected by the veterans! More than that of Decimus? I myself think not; for though the deed[1] is common to both the Brutuses, and they have an equal partnership in its renown, yet those who lamented that deed were more angry with Decimus, just because it was, they said, less fitting for him[2] to take part in it. What then are so many armies now engaged in but the liberation of Brutus from the siege? And who are the leaders of these armies? Those, I suppose, who wish Caius Caesar's acts to be upset and the cause of the veterans betrayed!

VIII. If Caius Caesar were himself alive he would, I suppose, defend more keenly his own acts than that brave man Hirtius is defending them?[3] or someone can be found more friendly to Caesar's cause than his son![4] But of these men one, though not yet recovered from a lingering and most serious malady, has devoted what strength he had to the defence of the liberty of those by whose prayers he has regarded himself as rescued from death; the

robore firmior quam aetatis cum istis ipsis veteranis ad D. Brutum liberandum est profectus. Ergo illi certissimi idemque acerrimi Caesaris actorum patroni pro D. Bruti salute bellum gerunt; quos veterani secuntur; de libertate enim populi Romani, non de suis commodis armis decernendum vident. Quid est igitur, cur iis, qui D. Brutum omnibus opibus conservatum velint, M. Bruti sit suspectus exercitus?

17 An vero, si quid esset, quod a M. Bruto timendum videretur, Pansa id non videret aut, si videret, non laboraret? Quis aut sapientior ad coniecturam rerum futurarum aut ad propulsandum metum diligentior? Atqui huius animum erga M. Brutum studiumque vidistis. Praecepit oratione sua, quid decernere nos de M. Bruto, quid sentire oporteret, tantumque afuit, ut periculosum rei publicae Bruti putaret exercitum, ut in eo firmissimum rei publicae praesidium et gravissimum poneret. Scilicet hoc Pansa aut non videt (hebeti enim ingenio est) aut neglegit; quae enim Caesar egit, ea rata esse non curat; de quibus confirmandis et sanciendis legem comitiis centuriatis ex auctoritate nostra laturus est.

IX. Desinant igitur aut ii, qui non timent, simulare se timere et prospicere rei publicae aut ii, qui omnia verentur, nimium esse timidi, ne illorum
18 simulatio, horum obsit ignavia. Quae, malum! est

[1] The two alluded to are Hirtius, the consul, and the younger Caesar respectively.

other,[1] more vigorous in the strength of virtue than of age, has set forth with those very veterans to liberate Decimus Brutus. Therefore those most certain and most active supporters of the acts of Caesar are waging war on behalf of the safety of Decimus Brutus; the veterans follow them; for it is for the liberty of the Roman people, not for their own advantage, they see they must struggle in arms. What reason is there then why, when these men wish to use all their forces for the preservation of Decimus Brutus, the army of Marcus Brutus should be suspected by them?

If there were any cause for apprehension from Marcus Brutus would not Pansa see it? or, if he did see it, would he not be anxious? Who is wiser to gauge future events, or more active to ward off a danger? And yet you have seen his feeling towards Marcus Brutus, and his zeal to assist him. He has instructed us in his speech what we should decree, and what we should feel concerning Marcus Brutus; and so far was he from deeming the army of Marcus Brutus a danger to the State that in it he found the stoutest and most important bulwark of the State. Oh, no doubt Pansa either does not see this—for he is of dull intellect—or disregards it, for he does not care that Caesar's acts be ratified! and yet he intends, with our authority, to propose a law at the Comitia Centuriata for their confirmation and ratification.

IX. Either, then, let those who are not afraid cease to pretend they are afraid and are providing for the safety of the State, or let those who are apprehensive of everything cease to be over-timid, lest the pretences of one party, or the cowardice of the other, stand in our way. What the plague is

ista ratio semper optimis causis veteranorum nomen opponere? Quorum etiamsi amplecterer virtutem, ut facio, tamen, si essent adrogantes, non possem ferre fastidium. An nos conantes servitutis vincla rumpere impediet, si quis veteranos nolle dixerit? Non sunt enim, credo, innumerabiles, qui pro communi libertate arma capiant; nemo est praeter veteranos milites vir, qui ad servitutem propulsandam ingenuo dolore excitetur. Potest igitur stare res publica, freta veteranis, sine magno subsidio iuventutis? Quos quidem vos libertatis adiutores complecti debetis, servitutis auctores sequi non debetis.

19 Postremo (erumpat enim aliquando vera et me digna vox!), si veteranorum nutu mentes huius ordinis gubernantur omniaque ad eorum voluntatem nostra dicta, facta referuntur, optanda mors est, quae civibus Romanis semper fuit servitute potior. Omnis est misera servitus; sed fuerit quaedam necessaria; ecquodnam principium putatis libertatis capessendae? An, cum illum necessarium et fatalem paene casum non tulerimus, hunc feremus voluntarium? Tota Italia desiderio libertatis exarsit, servire diutius non potest civitas; serius populo Romano hunc vestitum atque arma dedimus, quam ab eo flagitati sumus.

20 X. Magna nos quidem spe et prope explorata libertatis causam suscepimus; sed ut concedam

[1] Under Julius Caesar.

[2] The *sagum*, or military dress.

the meaning of this constantly opposing the best of causes with the name of the veterans? Dearly as I might cherish their valour—as I do—yet, if they were arrogant, I would not put up with their caprices. While we are striving to burst the shackles of slavery, shall some man's statement that the veterans do not wish it hamper us? For there are not, I suppose, countless numbers of persons to take up arms for the common liberty! there is no man but the veteran soldiers to be roused by a freeman's indignation to ward off slavery! Can, then, the State stand, in reliance on the veterans, without the strong support of the young men? As to the veterans, you ought to welcome them as aids to liberty, as abettors of slavery you ought not to follow them.

Finally—let me give utterance at last to a word, true and worthy of myself—if the purposes of this our order are governed by the nod of the veterans, and all our sayings and doings are regulated according to their will, I should choose death, which to Roman citizens has always been preferable to slavery. All slavery is wretched; but grant there was a slavery that was unavoidable;[1] do you contemplate ever beginning the recovery of your liberty? When we could not endure that unavoidable and almost Fate-designed calamity, shall we endure this voluntary one? The whole of Italy is aflame with the longing for liberty; the community can no longer be slaves; we have given the Roman people this garb[2] and these arms, but long after they have been demanded by it.

X. It is indeed with a great and well-nigh assured hope that we have taken up the cause of liberty;

incertos exitus esse belli Martemque communem, tamen pro libertate vitae periculo decertandum est. Non enim in spiritu vita est, sed ea nulla est omnino servienti. Omnes nationes servitutem ferre possunt, nostra civitas non potest, nec ullam aliam ob causam, nisi quod illae laborem doloremque fugiunt, quibus ut careant, omnia perpeti possunt; nos ita a maioribus instituti atque imbuti sumus, ut omnia consilia atque facta ad dignitatem et ad virtutem referremus. Ita praeclara est recuperatio libertatis, ut ne mors quidem sit in repetenda libertate fugienda. Quodsi immortalitas consequeretur praesentis periculi fugam, tamen eo magis ea fugienda videretur, quo diuturnior servitus esset. Cum vero dies et noctes omnia nos undique fata circumstent, non est viri minimeque Romani dubitare eum spiritum, quem naturae debeat, patriae reddere.

21 Concurritur undique ad commune incendium restinguendum. Veterani, qui primi Caesaris auctoritatem sunt secuti, conatum Antoni reppulerunt, post eiusdem furorem Martia legio fregit, quarta afflixit. Sic a suis legionibus condemnatus inrupit in Galliam, quam sibi armis animisque infestam inimicamque cognovit. Hunc A. Hirti, C. Caesaris exercitus insecuti sunt, post Pansae dilectus urbem totamque Italiam erexit. Unus omnium est hostis; quamquam habet secum Lucium fratrem, carissimum populo Romano civem, cuius desiderium ferre diutius

[1] Muretus suggests that C. is in this passage thinking of Sarpedon's speech to Glaucus in Hom. *Il.* 12. 322, where he says that, if they two could escape the war. and become immortal, neither would he himself fight, nor urge Glaucus. "But," says C., "immortality is too dear at the price of dishonour."

but though I allow that the issues of war are uncertain and Mars inconstant, yet must we struggle for liberty at the risk of life. For life does not consist in breath: it does not exist at all in the slave. All other nations can bear slavery; our community cannot, and for no other reason than that other nations shun toil and pain, and, to be free from these, can endure all things; but we have been so trained and our minds so imbued by our ancestors as to refer all our thoughts and acts to the standard of honour and virtue. So glorious is the recovery of liberty that in regaining liberty we must not shrink even from death. Nay, if immortality were to follow the shrinking from present peril, yet from that it would seem we should shrink the more, as a perpetuation of servitude.[1] But seeing that days and nights all manner of chances surround us on every side, it is not the part of a man, least of all of a Roman, to hesitate to surrender the breath he owes nature to his fatherland.

Men throng from all sides to quench the general conflagration. The veterans who were the first to follow Caesar's lead have repelled the attempts of Antonius; afterwards the Martian legion has broken his frenzy, and the fourth crushed it to the earth. So, condemned by his own legions, he burst into Gaul, which he knew to be unfriendly and hostile to him both in action and in feelings. The armies of Aulus Hirtius and of Caius Caesar have followed him up; afterwards Pansa's levy has roused this city and the whole of Italy. He is the one enemy of all men; though he has with him his brother Lucius, a citizen most dear to the Roman people, the loss of whom the community can bear no

22 civitas non potest. Quid illa taetrius belua, quid immanius? qui ob eam causam natus videtur, ne omnium mortalium turpissimus esset M. Antonius. Est una Trebellius, qui iam cum tabulis novis rediit in gratiam, Plancus et ceteri pares, qui id pugnant, id agunt, ut contra rem publicam restituti esse videantur. Et sollicitant homines imperitos Saxa et Cafo, ipsi rustici atque agrestes, qui hanc rem publicam nec viderunt umquam nec videre constitutam volunt, qui non Caesaris, sed Antoni acta defendunt, quos avertit agri Campani infinita possessio; cuius eos non pudere demiror, cum videant se mimos et mimas habere vicinos.

23 XI. Ad has pestes opprimendas cur moleste feramus quod M. Bruti accessit exercitus? immoderati, credo, hominis et turbulenti; videte ne nimium paene[1] patientis; etsi in illius viri consiliis atque factis nihil nec nimium nec parum umquam fuit. Omnis voluntas M. Bruti, patres conscripti, omnis cogitatio, tota mens auctoritatem senatus, libertatem populi Romani intuetur; haec habet proposita, haec tueri vult. Temptavit, quid patientia perficere posset; nihil cum proficeret, vi contra vim experiundum putavit. Cui quidem, patres conscripti, vos idem hoc tempore tribuere debetis, quod a. d. XIII Kal. Ian. D. Bruto, C. Caesari me auctore tribuistis, quorum privatum de re publica consilium et factum

[1] One MS. has *nimium pat.*, omitting *paene.* Other MSS. omit *nimium.* The Vat. has *paenetientes.*

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[1] A sarcastic allusion to him as the patron of the Roman tribes: cf. *Phil.* vi. 5.

[2] T. had, as tribune of the commons, opposed a general abolition of debts, and had afterwards supported it: cf. *Phil.* vi. 4.

longer.[1] What can be more hideous, more savage than that beast? who seems to have been born for this reason, that the basest of all living men might not be seen in Marcus Antonius. With him is Trebellius, who, now there is a ledger clean of debts, is reconciled to him;[2] Plancus and others like him, whose struggle and aim is to make their restoration from exile be seen to be pernicious to the State. And Saxa and Cafo are tampering with ignorant men, being clowns and rustics themselves, who have never seen, and do not wish to see, the State established, men who defend the acts, not of Caesar, but of Antonius, whom the unlimited possession of Campanian land has seduced, though I much wonder that they are not ashamed of it when they see they have mimes, male and female, as neighbours.

XI. For the crushing of these pests, why should we be displeased that the army of Marcus Brutus is added to us? an intemperate man, I suppose, and a turbulent; consider whether he is not almost too patient, though he is a man in whom, whether in thought or deed, there has never been anything either too much or too little. Every wish of Marcus Brutus, Conscript Fathers, every thought, the whole of his mind, looks to the authority of the Senate and the liberty of the Roman people: these he sets before him, these he desires to protect. He has tried what patience could effect; since it effected nothing, he deemed he should essay force against force. To him, Conscript Fathers, your duty is at this crisis to pay the same tribute as on the twentieth of December you paid at my instance to Decimus Brutus and Caius Caesar, whose private undertaking

auctoritate vestra est comprobatum atque laudatum.
24 Quod idem in M. Bruto facere debetis, a quo insperatum et repentinum rei publicae praesidium legionum, equitatus, auxiliorum magnae et firmae copiae comparatae sunt.

Adiungendus est Q. Hortensius, qui cum Macedoniam obtineret, audiutorem se Bruto ad comparandum exercitum fidissimum et constantissimum praebuit. Nam de M. Apuleio separatim censeo referendum, cui testis est per litteras M. Brutus, eum principem fuisse ad conatum exercitus comparandi.

25 Quae cum ita sint, quod C. Pansa consul verba fecit de litteris, quae a Q. Caepione Bruto pro consule allatae et in hoc ordine recitatae sunt, de ea re ita censeo:

"Cum Q. Caepionis Bruti pro consule opera, consilio, industria, virtute difficillimo rei publicae tempore provincia Macedonia et Illyricum et cuncta Graecia et legiones, exercitus, equitatus in consulum, senatus populique Romani potestate sint, id Q. Caepionem Brutum pro consule bene et e re publica pro sua maiorumque suorum dignitate consuetudineque rei publicae bene gerendae fecisse, eam rem senatui populoque Romano gratam esse
26 et fore; utique Q. Caepio Brutus pro consule provinciam Macedoniam, Illyricum cunctamque Graeciam tueatur, defendat, custodiat incolumemque conservet,

[1] See the third Philippic.
[2] His name on adoption by Q. Servilius Caepio.

and action was by your authority approved and commended.[1] Your duty is to do the same thing in the case of Marcus Brutus, by whom an unexpected and hasty reinforcement for the State, in the shape of a great and strong force of legions, cavalry, and auxiliary troops, has been got together.

With him should be associated Quintus Hortensius, who, when he held Macedonia, allied himself to Brutus as a most trusty and steadfast coadjutor in the raising of his army. For concerning Marcus Apuleius I propose a separate motion: Marcus Brutus is a witness by his letter to his being the first to urge him to the endeavour of raising an army.

In these circumstances, whereas Caius Pansa, the consul, has mentioned the letter received from Quintus Caepio Brutus[2] the proconsul which has been read in this assembly, on that matter I propose as follows:

"Whereas by the exertions, strategy, energy, and valour of Quintus Caepio Brutus proconsul, at a most difficult crisis for the State the province of Macedonia, and Illyricum, and the whole of Greece, and the legions, armies, and cavalry, are in the jurisdiction of the consuls, the Senate, and the Roman people, Quintus Caepio Brutus, proconsul, has acted well and in the interests of the State, and in accordance with his own honour and that of his ancestors, and the precedents of good administration of the State; and such action is and will be welcome to the Senate and to the Roman people; moreover, Quintus Caepio Brutus, proconsul, should protect, defend, guard, and keep safe the province of Macedonia, Illyricum, and the whole of Greece; and should

eique exercitui, quem ipse constituit, comparavit, praesit pecuniamque ad rem militarem, si qua opus sit, quae publica sit et exigi possit, utatur, exigat pecuniasque, a quibus videatur, ad rem militarem mutuas sumat frumentumque imperet operamque det, ut cum suis copiis quam proxime Italiam sit. Cumque ex litteris Q. Caepionis Bruti pro consule intellectum sit Q. Hortensi pro consule opera et virtute vehementer rem publicam adiutam omniaque eius consilia cum consiliis Q. Caepionis Bruti pro consule coniuncta fuisse, eamque rem magno usui rei publicae fuisse, Q. Hortensium pro consule recte et ordine exque re publica fecisse, senatuique placere Q. Hortensium pro consule cum quaestore prove quaestore et legatis suis provinciam Macedoniam obtinere, quoad ei ex senatus consulto successum sit."

command the army which he himself has established and raised, and should employ and levy, if occasion arise, for military operations any public moneys that can be levied, and may borrow from whomsoever he thinks good moneys for military operations and command supplies, and see to it that he be with his forces as near as possible to Italy. And whereas from the letter of Quintus Caepio Brutus, proconsul, it is understood that by the exertions and valour of Quintus Hortensius, proconsul, the State has been greatly assisted, and that all his counsels have been in accordance with the counsels of Quintus Caepio Brutus, proconsul, and that that circumstance has been of great service to the State; it is decreed that Quintus Hortensius, proconsul, has acted rightly, and in order, and in the interest of the State; and that it is the Senate's pleasure that Quintus Hortensius, proconsul, should with a quaestor or proquaestor, and with his own legates, hold the province of Macedonia until his successor be appointed by senatorial decree."

INTRODUCTION TO PHILIPPIC XI

Towards the close of the year 44 Dolabella, in anticipation of the expiration of his consulship, had left Rome to take up the government of Syria, an appointment which the tribes, on the procurement of Antonius, had given him on June 5, in spite of the fact that this province had been assigned to Cassius by J. Caesar, whose acts were confirmed by the Senate on the 17th of March. On his way towards Syria Dolabella passed through the province of Asia, then under the government of C. Trebonius, and, being refused by Trebonius admission into Smyrna, treacherously surprised it by night, and put Trebonius to death in the most brutal manner, involving, according to Cicero, torture. This crime, says Middleton, "had been projected, without doubt, in concert with Antony to make the revenge of Caesar's death the avowed cause of their arms, in order to draw the veterans to their side."

On the news of this atrocity being received at Rome about the middle of March the Consul Pansa summoned the Senate, which declared, on the motion of Calenus, that Dolabella was a public enemy, and decreed that his property should be confiscated. The question then arose, who should conduct the war against Dolabella? Two proposals were before the House: one that P. Servilius should be given an extraordinary command; the second that the consuls of the present year should be instructed to carry on the war, with the provinces of Asia and

Syria allotted between them. This second proposal was agreeable to Pansa, and to the partisans of Antonius, these latter supporting it as having the effect of diverting the attention of the consuls from the war in Italy. No conclusion was come to the first day, and the debate was adjourned. On the following day Cicero delivered the eleventh Philippic, in which he proposed (*inter alia*) that Cassius should be recognised as governor of Syria with the fullest title; should attack Dolabella by land and sea; and should be empowered in Syria, Asia, Bithynia, and Pontus to make requisitions for munitions of war. Of the other two proposals made he regarded the first, *i.e.* that for an extraordinary command, as dangerous and the second as unsuited to the crisis.

He said that what Dolabella had done was but an example of what Antonius would do; that the two of them were a pair. After describing Antonius' associates, he congratulated Calenus on his vigorous attitude with regard to Dolabella's crime. With regard to the second point, the selection of a general to act against Dolabella, he said that extraordinary commissions had never been given to a private person not possessing a command or an office. That the extraordinary command given to the young Caesar had been in the circumstances absolutely necessary. As to commissioning the two consuls, he argued that this would be against the interests of the public service: the two consuls were already waging a dangerous war in protection of the lives of all; and, even although the proposal was that they should first relieve D. Brutus, yet their attention would be taken off the task they had in hand. Moreover, such a commission would cause jealousy. The

war against Dolabella required a general already equipped; Brutus and Cassius fulfilled the requirements, but the former could not be spared from Macedonia, where he was opposing C. Antonius. And though (as he hints) both Brutus and Cassius held no legal command, yet the exigency of the times required that strict rules should be disregarded. Both should be allowed, in the public interest, to be each his own Senate. And he concluded by making the motion above mentioned.

Cicero's motion would, as he informs Cassius (*ad Fam.* 12. 7), have "easily prevailed" had not Pansa vigorously opposed it. And the Senate agreed to Calenus' motion that the two consuls should undertake the war when they had ended their campaign against Antonius.

But Cassius took the matter into his own hands. He was already, as he informed Cicero by a letter dated March 7, but which must have been received after the delivery of the eleventh Philippic (*ad Fam.* 12. 11), at the head of a considerable army. With this he reduced Laodicea, where Dolabella was, who committed suicide rather than fall into the power of Cassius.

M. TULLI CICERONIS IN M. ANTONIUM ORATIO PHILIPPICA UNDECIMA

1 I. Magno in dolore, patres conscripti, vel maerore potius, quem ex crudeli et miserabili morte C. Treboni, optimi civis moderatissimique hominis, accepimus, inest tamen aliquid, quod rei publicae profuturum putem. Perspeximus enim, quanta in iis, qui contra patriam scelerata arma ceperunt, inesset immanitas. Nam duo haec capita nata sunt post homines natos taeterrima et spurcissima, Dolabella et Antonius, quorum alter effecit, quod optarat, de altero patefactum est, quid cogitaret. L. Cinna crudelis, C. Marius in iracundia perseverans, L. Sulla vehemens; neque ullius horum in ulciscendo acerbitas progressa ultra mortem est, quae tamen poena in cives nimis crudelis putabatur.

2 Ecce tibi geminum in scelere par, invisitatum, inauditum, ferum, barbarum. Itaque, quorum summum quondam inter ipsos odium bellumque meministis, eosdem postea singulari inter se consensu et amore devinxit improbissimae naturae et turpissimae vitae similitudo. Ergo id, quod fecit Dolabella, in quo potuit, multis idem minatur Antonius. Sed ille

[1] Proconsul of Asia, formerly an officer of Caesar, and afterwards one of his assassins.

THE ELEVENTH PHILIPPIC OF M. TULLIUS CICERO AGAINST M. ANTONIUS

In the great sorrow, Conscript Fathers, or rather lamentation, which the cruel and wretched death of a citizen so loyal and a man so temperate as Caius Trebonius[1] has caused us, there is yet something which I think will benefit the State. For we have realised what a degree of savagery there was in those men who have taken up their accursed arms against their country. For here we have two creatures, the foulest and filthiest since the creation of human beings, Dolabella and Antonius, of whom one has effected what he wished, while what the other proposed stands revealed. Lucius Cinna was cruel; Caius Marius in his anger persistent; Lucius Sulla violent; but in revenge the bitterness of none of these extended beyond infliction of death; and yet that was held a penalty too cruel to be inflicted on citizens.

Here you find a pair of twins in wickedness, unprecedented, unheard of, fierce, barbarous. And so the very men between whom, you remember, there was the utmost hatred and dissension formerly have been since bound together by a singular unanimity and affection springing from the similarity of their most reprobate nature and infamous lives. Accordingly, what Dolabella has effected where he had the power Antonius also threatens to do to many. But

cum procul esset a consulibus exercitibusque nostris nequedum senatum cum populo Romano conspirasse sensisset, fretus Antoni copiis ea scelera suscepit, quae Romae iam suscepta arbitrabatur a socio furoris
3 sui. Quid ergo hunc aliud moliri, quid optare censetis aut quam omnino causam esse belli? Omnes, qui libere de re publica sensimus, qui dignas nobis sententias diximus, qui populum Romanum liberum esse voluimus, statuit ille quidem non inimicos, sed hostes. Maiora tamen in nos quam in hostem supplicia meditatur; mortem naturae poenam putat esse, iracundiae tormenta atque cruciatum. Qualis igitur hostis habendus est is, a quo victore si cruciatus absit, mors in beneficii parte numeretur?

II. Quam ob rem, patres conscripti, quamquam hortatore non egetis (ipsi enim vestra sponte exarsistis ad libertatis recuperandae cupiditatem), tamen eo maiore animo studioque libertatem defendite, quo maiora proposita victis supplicia servitutis vide-
4 tis. In Galliam invasit Antonius, in Asiam Dolabella, in alienam uterque provinciam. Alteri se Brutus obiecit impetumque furentis atque omnia divexare ac diripere cupientis vitae suae periculo conligavit, progressu arcuit, a reditu refrenavit; obsideri se passus ex utraque parte constrinxit Antonium.

Alter in Asiam inrupit. Cur? Si, ut in Syriam,

[1] Caesar had assigned Cisalpine Gaul to D. Brutus, and Asia to C. Trebonius.

[2] If D. was proceeding to Syria, why did he not take the shortest and direct way by sea? if to Trebonius, why did he invade another man's province?

Dolabella, being far from our consuls and armies, and not yet having perceived that the Senate has united with the Roman people, relied on the forces of Antonius, and committed those crimes which he thought had already been committed at Rome by the partner of his frenzy. What other object, what other wish, do you suppose Antonius has? or what do you, in fact, suppose is our reason for war? All of us whose sentiments on State affairs are those of free men, who have expressed opinions that become us, who have wished the Roman people to be free, he has determined to be, not merely unfriendly, but his enemies. But he contemplates greater punishments against us than against an enemy; death he regards as a penalty due to nature, but that to anger belong torment and tortures. What sort of enemy then should we see in him, at whose hands, if victorious, death, if not accompanied by tortures, is counted in the light of a kindness?

II. Wherefore, Conscript Fathers, though you need no prompter—for you yourselves of your own accord are fired with longing to regain your liberty—yet defend your liberty with the greater spirit and enthusiasm inasmuch as you see the greater penalties that in slavery await the vanquished. Antonius has invaded Gaul, Dolabella, Asia, each of them another man's province.[1] The one Brutus has confronted, and has, at the risk of his own life, checked the onset of the madman who longs to harass and pillage everything; he has stayed his progress; he has put a curb on his return; by allowing himself to be besieged he has bound Antonius fast on both sides.

The other has burst into Asia. Why?[2] If, to

patebat via et certa neque longa; *sin, ut ad Trebonium,*[1] quid opus fuit cum legione praemisso Marso nescio quo Octavio, scelerato latrone atque egenti, qui popularetur agros, vexaret urbes non ad spem constituendae rei familiaris, quam tenere eum posse negant, qui norunt (mihi enim hic senator ignotus est), sed ad praesentem pastum mendicitatis
5 suae. Consecutus est Dolabella. Nulla suspicione belli (quis enim id putaret?) secutae conlocutiones familiarissimae cum Trebonio complexusque summae benivolentiae falsi indices extiterunt in amore simulato; dexterae, quae fidei testes esse solebant, sunt perfidia et scelere violatae; nocturnus introitus Zmyrnam quasi in hostium urbem, quae est fidissimorum antiquissimorumque sociorum; oppressus Trebonius, si ut ab eo, qui aperte hostis esset, incautus, si ut ab eo, qui civis etiam tum speciem haberet, miser. Ex quo nimirum documentum nos capere fortuna voluit, quid esset victis extimescendum. Consularem hominem consulari imperio provinciam Asiam optinentem Samiario exuli tradidit, interficere captum statim noluit, ne nimis, credo, in victoria liberalis videretur. Cum verborum contumeliis optimum virum incesto ore lacerasset, tum verberibus ac tormentis quaestionem habuit pecuniae publicae, idque per biduum. Post cervicibus fractis caput abscidit idque adfixum gestari iussit

[1] The italicised words are a conjecture of Lambinus folld. by Halm. Orelli omits them, and punctuates down to "*suae*" as in the text, and runs on after "*Dolabella.*"

pass on into Syria, there was a way open to him, one defined and not long; but if to join Trebonius, where was the necessity of sending forward with a legion some Marsian or other called Octavius, an accursed and needy brigand, to devastate the land, to harass the cities, not with the hope of establishing his private fortune—those that know him say he cannot preserve that, for to me this Senator is unknown—but to reach some ready pasture for his mendicant condition? Dolabella followed him. There being then no suspicion of war—for who could think of it?—there followed most intimate conversations with Trebonius, and embraces, false indications of the highest good-will amid the pretence of love; pledges by right hands, the usual witnesses to good faith, were perfidiously and criminally violated; there was an entry by night into Smyrna, as into a city of enemies, not of our most trusty and long-standing allies; Trebonius was crushed; if as by an open enemy, from lack of caution; if as by one who still bore the guise of a fellow-citizen, miserably. From his example no doubt Fortune wished us to receive a proof of what the vanquished had to dread. A consular holding the province of Asia with consular command Dolabella handed over to Samiarius an exile; he was unwilling to slay his captive at once, in order, I suppose, not to appear too generous in his victory. After scarifying that noblest of men with abuse from his filthy lips, he then under the lash and the rack held an inquest as to public moneys,[1] and that for two days. Afterwards, when he had broken his neck he cut off his head, and ordered it to be carried about fixed on a

[1] Apparently he charged T. with concealing them.

in pilo; reliquum corpus tractum atque laniatum[1] abiecit in mare.

6 Cum hoc hoste bellandum est, cuius taeterrima crudelitate omnis barbaria superata est. Quid loquar de caede civium Romanorum, de direptione fanorum? Quis est, qui pro rerum atrocitate deplorare tantas calamitates queat? Et nunc tota Asia vagatur, volitat ut rex, nos alio bello distineri putat; quasi vero non idem unumque bellum sit contra hoc iugum impiorum nefarium.

III. Imaginem M. Antoni crudelitatis in Dolabella cernitis; ex hoc illa efficta est, ab hoc Dolabellae scelerum praecepta sunt tradita. Num leniorem, quam in Asia Dolabella fuit, in Italia, si liceat, fore putatis Antonium? Mihi quidem et ille pervenisse videtur, quoad progredi potuerit feri hominis amentia, neque Antonius ullius supplicii adhibendi, si potestatem habeat, ullam esse partem relicturus.

7 Ponite igitur ante oculos, patres conscripti, miseram illam quidem et flebilem speciem, sed ad incitandos nostros animos necessariam, nocturnum impetum in urbem Asiae clarissimam, inruptionem armatorum in Treboni domum, cum miser ille prius latronum gladios videret, quam, quae res esset, audisset, furentis introitum Dolabellae, vocem impuram atque os illud infame, vincla, verbera, eculeum, tortorem carnificemque Samiarium; quae tulisse illum fortiter et patienter ferunt. Magna laus meoque iudicio omnium maxima. Est enim sapientis,

[1] These two words are added in the Vat. MS. by a late hand.

spear; the rest of his body, after it had been dragged about and mangled, he cast into the sea.

This is the enemy with whom we must war, one by whose savage cruelty all barbarism has been surpassed. Why should I speak of the slaughter of Roman citizens? of the plunder of temples? Who in terms befitting the atrocity of the facts could deplore such calamities? And now he wanders through all Asia, he flits about like a king; he thinks we are hampered by another war; as if the war against this impious pair were not one and the same!

III. You see in Dolabella the image of the cruelty of Marcus Antonius; on him it has been modelled; it is from him Dolabella's schooling in villainy has been received. Do you think Antonius, if he be allowed, will be more lenient in Italy than Dolabella was in Asia? To me indeed it seems, both that Dolabella has advanced as far as the madness of a savage could go, and that, given the power, there is no punishment of which Antonius will forgo the exaction of even a fragment.

Set therefore before your eyes, Conscript Fathers, that picture, wretched and tearful as it is, yet one necessary to stir our feelings: the night attack on the finest city of Asia; the irruption of armed men into Trebonius' house, when that wretched man saw the brigands' swords before he heard what the matter was; the entry of the raging Dolabella, his foul speech and his infamous mouth; the bonds, the stripes, the rack, the torturer and executioner Samiarius; all of which they say Trebonius bore with fortitude and patience. That is great praise, and in my judgment the greatest praise. For it is

quicquid homini accidere possit, id praemeditari ferundum modice esse, si evenerit. Maioris omnino est consilii providere, ne quid tale accidat, animi non minoris fortiter ferre, si evenerit. Ac Dolabella
8 quidem tam fuit immemor humanitatis (quamquam eius numquam particeps fuit), ut suam insatiabilem crudelitatem exercuerit non solum in vivo, sed etiam in mortuo, atque in eius corpore lacerando atque vexando cum animum satiare non posset, oculos paverit suos.

IV. O multo miserior Dolabella quam ille, quem tu miserrimum esse voluisti! Dolores Trebonius pertulit magnos; multi ex morbi gravitate maiores, quos tamen non miseros, sed laboriosos solemus dicere. Longus fuit dolor bidui[1]; at compluribus annorum saepe multorum; nec vero graviora sunt carnificum cruciamenta quam interdum tormenta morborum. Alia sunt, alia, inquam, o perditissimi
9 homines et amentissimi, multo miseriora. Nam, quo maior vis est animi quam corporis, hoc sunt graviora ea, quae concipiuntur animo, quam illa, quae corpore. Miserior igitur, qui suscipit in se scelus, quam si qui alterius facinus subire cogitur. Cruciatus est a Dolabella Trebonius; et quidem a Karthaginiensibus Regulus; qua re, cum crudelissimi Poeni iudicati sint in hoste, quid in cive de Dolabella iudicandum est? An vero hoc conferendum est aut dubitandum, uter miserior sit, isne, cuius mortem

[1] This is Halm's punctuation. Madvig reads "*Longus f. d. Bidui; at*," thus putting a full stop at "*dolor.*"

the part of a wise man to resolve beforehand that whatever can happen to a man should be borne calmly if it shall befall him. It needs altogether greater judgment to provide against such evil happening, and no less courage to bear it with fortitude if it shall befall. And Dolabella was so regardless of human feeling—though in that he never had any part—as to practise his insatiable cruelty not only on the living, but even on the dead, and in the mangling and molestation of the body, as he could not glut his soul, he fed his eyes.

IV. O Dolabella, much more miserable than he whom you wished to be most miserable! Anguish Trebonius endured to the full; but many from the severity of disease endure greater, yet we do not call them miserable, but afflicted. Two days' anguish was long; yet many have felt it for many years; and the tortures of executioners are indeed not more severe than are sometimes the torments of disease. There are other tortures, others, I say, you most abandoned and insensate wretches! and much more miserable. For in proportion as the strength of the mind is greater than that of the body, so those ills are more severe that are contracted in the mind than those contracted in the body. More wretched then is he who incurs the guilt of a crime than he who is compelled to undergo the misdeed of another. Trebonius was tortured by Dolabella, and Regulus too by the Carthaginians; and since on that account the Carthaginians have been adjudged most cruel in the case of an enemy, in the case of a citizen what should be our judgment of Dolabella? Can we really make here any comparison, or doubt which is the more wretched? he

senatus populusque Romanus ulcisci cupit, an is, qui cunctis senatus sententiis hostis est iudicatus? Nam ceteris quidem vitae partibus quis est qui possit sine Treboni maxima contumelia conferre vitam Treboni cum Dolabellae? Alterius consilium, ingenium, humanitatem, innocentiam, magnitudinem animi in patria liberanda quis ignorat? alteri a puero pro deliciis crudelitas fuit, deinde ea libidinum turpitudo, ut in hoc sit semper ipse laetatus, quod ea faceret, quae sibi obici ne ab inimico quidem possent verecundo.

10 Et hic, di immortales, aliquando fuit meus! occulta enim erant vitia non inquirenti. Neque nunc fortasse alienus ab eo essem, nisi ille vobis, nisi moenibus patriae, nisi huic urbi, nisi dis penatibus, nisi aris et focis omnium nostrum, nisi denique naturae et humanitati inventus esset inimicus. A quo admoniti diligentius et vigilantius caveamus Antonium.

V. Etenim Dolabella non ita multos secum habuit notos atque insignes latrones; at videtis, quos et quam multos habeat Antonius. Primum Lucium fratrem. Quam facem, di immortales, quod facinus, quod scelus, quem gurgitem, quam voraginem! Quid eum non sorbere animo, quid non haurire cogitatione, cuius sanguinem non bibere censetis, in [1] cuius possessiones atque fortunas non impudentissimos oculos spe et mente defigere? Quid Censorinum? qui se verbo praetorem esse urbanum cupere dicebat,

[1] These six words (*cujus* to *in*) are omitted in the Vat. MS., the copyist having apparently missed a line.

[1] D. had been C.'s son-in-law.
[2] By leaving the city for the camp of Antonius.

whose death the Senate and the Roman people long to avenge, or he who by all the votes of the Senate has been adjudged an enemy? For, indeed, in all the other features of their lives who could, without the greatest insult to Trebonius, compare the life of Trebonius with Dolabella's? Who does not know the prudence of the one, his genius, his humanity, his innocence, his strength of mind displayed in the liberation of his country? To the other from boyhood cruelty was a sport; then came such baseness of lust that he himself has always exulted in his doings being such as he could not be reproached with even by an enemy who was a modest man.

And this man, Heavens! was at one time my connection![1] for his vices were hidden from one who made no enquiry. And perhaps now I should not be alienated from him, had he not been proved hostile to you, to the walls of his country, to this city, to the Household Gods, to the altars and hearths of all of us, in a word, to nature and to all mankind. Warned by his example, let us more diligently and more watchfully beware of Antonius.

V. For Dolabella had not with him so many notorious and manifest brigands; but you see whom Antonius has, and how many they are. First, his brother Lucius. Heavens! what a firebrand! what a heap of crime and iniquity? what a sink, what an abyss of prodigality! What is there, do you suppose, that he is not mentally absorbing, is not gulping down in imagination? whose blood is he not drinking? on whose possessions and fortunes does he not in hope and fancy fix his most shameless eyes? What of Censorinus? who in words stated his desire to be city praetor, but was, in fact,[2] certainly unwilling.

11 re certe noluit. Quid Bestiam? qui consulatum in Bruti locum se petere profitetur. Atque hoc quidem detestabile omen avertat Iuppiter! Quam absurdum autem, qui praetor fieri non potuerit, petere eum consulatum! nisi forte damnationem pro praetura putat. Alter Caesar Vopiscus ille summo ingenio, summa potentia, qui ex aedilitate consulatum petit, solvatur legibus; quamquam leges eum non tenent propter eximiam, credo, dignitatem. At hic me defendente quinquiens absolutus est; sexta palma urbana etiam in gladiatore difficilis. Sed haec iudicum culpa, non mea est. Ego defendi fide optima, illi debuerunt clarissimum et praestantissimum senatorem in civitate retinere. Qui tamen nunc nihil aliud agere videtur, nisi ut intellegamus illos, quorum res iudicatas inritas fecimus, bene et e re publica iudicavisse.

Neque hoc in hoc uno est; sunt alii in isdem
12 castris honeste condemnati, turpiter restituti. Quod horum consilium, qui omnibus bonis hostes sunt, nisi crudelissimum putatis fore? Accedit Saxa nescio quis, quem nobis Caesar ex ultima Celtiberia tribunum pl. dedit, castrorum antea metator, nunc, ut sperat, urbis; a qua cum sit alienus, suo capiti salvis nobis ominetur. Cum hoc veteranus Cafo, quo

[1] Such a person being by law ineligible.

[2] C. Julius Caesar V. in 90 B.C., after being curule aedile only, stood for the consulship, contrary to the Lex Annalis. This election was vetoed by the tribunes.

[3] On the sixth trial he was convicted of bribery.

[4] By confirming Caesar's acts. C. had recalled Bestia among the other exiles.

[5] *i.e.* a common workman under the orders of the centurions, whose duty it was to lay out the camp.

What of Bestia, who proclaims his candidature for the consulship in the place of Brutus? May Jupiter avert this detestable omen! And how absurd it is for a man who could not become praetor to seek the consulship![1] unless perhaps he considers a conviction as a praetorship. Let that second Caesar Vopiscus,[2] a man of highest intellect, of highest influence, who after the aedileship stands for the consulship, be exempted from the laws, though the laws do not bind him by reason, I imagine, of his extraordinary distinction! But this man—I being defending counsel—was five times acquitted; it is hard, even for a gladiator, to win a sixth triumph in Rome.[3] But for this the blame is with the jury, not with me. I defended him in the best of faith; their duty it was to keep within the community this most noble and most illustrious Senator. And yet now he seems to have no other object than to make us understand that those whose verdict we annulled[4] decided well and in the interest of the State.

And this does not apply to this man alone; there are others in the same camp honestly condemned, disgracefully restored. What do you think will be the design of these men, the enemies of all good men, except a most cruel one? There is in addition a certain Saxa, whom Caesar gave us out of the wilds of Celtiberia as tribune of the commons, a measurer of camps before,[5] now to be, as he hopes, a measurer out of the city; but, since he is a stranger to it, may the omen[6] fall on his own head without harm to us! With this man is the veteran Cafo, than whom the veterans hate no

[6] Of confiscation of land wrongfully bestowed on him in Campania: cf. *Phil.* viii. 9; x. 10.

neminem veterani peius oderunt. His quasi praeter dotem, quam in civilibus malis acceperant, agrum Campanum est largitus Antonius, ut haberent reliquorum nutriculas praediorum. Quibus utinam contenti essent! ferremus, etsi tolerabile non erat; sed quidvis patiendum fuit, ut hoc taeterrimum bellum non haberemus.

VI. Quid? illa castrorum M. Antoni lumina
13 nonne ante oculos proponitis? Primum duos collegas Antoniorum et Dolabellae, Nuculam et Lentonem, Italiae divisores lege ea, quam senatus per vim latam iudicavit; quorum alter commentatus est mimos, alter egit tragoediam. Quid dicam de Apulo Domitio? cuius modo bona proscripta vidi; tanta procuratorum est neglegentia. At hic nuper sororis filio infudit venenum, non dedit. Sed non possunt non prodige vivere, qui nostra bona sperant, cum effundant sua. Vidi etiam P Deci auctionem, clari viri, qui maiorum exempla persequens pro alieno se aere devovit. Emptor tamen in ea auctione inventus est nemo. Hominem ridiculum, qui se emergere ex aere alieno putet posse, cum vendat aliena! Nam quid ego de Trebellio dicam? quem ultae videntur Furiae debitorum; vindicem enim novarum tabularum

[1] The *rich* lands of Campania would compensate for loss on other estates.

[2] As septemvirs on the commission to divide lands: cf. *Phil.* vi. 5.

[3] Connection with the stage was, as a rule, regarded with contempt.

[4] This is, of course, sarcasm.

man worse. On these men, as a sort of addition to the dowry they had received during our civil troubles, Antonius has lavished Campanian lands that they might have foster-mothers[1] for their other farms. Would they had been content with that! we might bear with it, though it was intolerable; but anything was to be endured to free us from this most hideous war.

VI. What more? do you not set before your eyes those luminaries of Marcus Antonius' camp? First of all the two colleagues[2] of the Antonii and Dolabella, Nucula and Lento, the parcellers of Italy under the law which the Senate has declared carried by violence, of whom the one has composed mimes, the other has acted in a tragedy.[3] What shall I say of Domitius, the Apulian? whose goods lately I have seen posted up for sale—such is the negligence of his agents.[4] But the man recently lavished poison on his sister's son, not a mere dose. But men cannot live otherwise than extravagantly who are hoping as they do for our goods while they lavish their own.[5] I have also seen the auction of that eminent man Publius Decius, who, following the precedents of his ancestors, has devoted himself as a victim[6]—for debt. Yet at that auction not a single buyer could be found. A silly fellow to think he can escape debts to others by selling what belongs to others! For what shall I say of Trebellius, on whom the Furies of the debtors seem to have taken vengeance?

[5] *i.e.* they are unsparing even of their poisons. Ducaeus suggests (and the context supports him) that C. is playing on the word *effundant*, in connection with *infudit*.

[6] P. Decius Mus, the consul, in the Latin war of 340 B.C., being warned by a dream, devoted himself with the enemy's army to destruction, and so secured a Roman victory.

novam tabulam videmus. Quid de T. Planco? quem
14 praestantissimus civis, Aquila, Pollentia expulit, et
quidem crure fracto; quod utinam illi ante accidisset,
ne huc redire potuisset! Lumen et decus illius exer-
citus paene praeterii, T. Annium Cimbrum, Lysidici
filium, Lysidicum ipsum Graeco[1] verbo, quoniam
omnia iura dissolvit, nisi forte iure Germanum
Cimber occidit.

Cum hanc et huius generis copiam tantam habeat
Antonius, quod scelus omittet, cum Dolabella tantis
se obstrinxerit parricidiis nequaquam pari latronum
15 manu et copia? Quapropter, ut invitus saepe dis-
sensi a Q. Fufio, ita sum eius sententiae libenter
adsensus; ex quo iudicare debetis me non cum
homine solere, sed cum causa dissidere.

Itaque non adsentior solum, sed etiam gratias ago Fufio: dixit enim severam, gravem, re publica dignam sententiam, iudicavit hostem Dolabellam, bona censuit publice possidenda. Quo cum addi nihil potuisset (quid enim atrocius potuit, quid severius decernere?), dixit tamen, si quis eorum, qui post se rogati essent, graviorem sententiam dixisset, in eam se iturum. Quam severitatem quis potest non laudare?

16 VII. Nunc, quoniam hostis est iudicatus Dola-

[1] These two words are probably a gloss.

[1] A play on the meaning of *tabula; tabulae novae* (new account books) = a cancellation of debts; *tabula* = an auction-catalogue. T. had offended debtors by opposing a remission of debts: cf. *Phil.* vi. 4. C. makes the same pun in *in Cat.* 2. 8 (*tabulae novae proferentur, verum auctionariae*).

[2] *i.e.* "would he had been crucified before he returned from exile."

[3] Λυσιδίκος = dissolver of laws.

for we see a new bill avenging the clean bill.[1] What of Titus Plancus, whom that most eminent citizen Aquila drove out of Pollentia, with a broken leg too? would it had happened to him before to prevent him returning here![2] One shining light and ornament of that army I nearly passed over, Titus Annius Cimber, the son of Lysidicus, a Lysidicus himself in Greek phrase, for he has caused the dissolution of all laws;[3] but perhaps a Cimber had a right to slay one germanely related.[4]

Seeing that Antonius has this lot with him, and a number of the same kidney, what crime will he forbear, when Dolabella has involved himself in so many murders though he has with him a troop of brigands by no means equal? Wherefore, as I have often unwillingly dissented from Quintus Fufius, so I willingly assent to his proposal; from this you should judge that I do not usually disagree with the man, but with the cause.

Accordingly I not only assent, but I also thank Fufius; for he has made a motion, severe and dignified in terms, and one worthy of the State; he has declared that Dolabella is an enemy, and that his estate should be confiscated by public order. Though nothing could be added to this—for what proposal could be made in stronger and severer terms?—still he said that if any of the Senators afterwards called upon were to propose a heavier penalty, he would vote for him. Who can fail to praise such severity?

VII. Now, as Dolabella has been adjudged an

[4] Cimber killed his brother; cf. *Phil.* xiii. 12, where C. calls him Philadelphus. "Cimber" also means a Cimbrian, one of a German tribe. Hence C.'s pun.

bella, bello est persequendus. Neque enim quiescit; habet legionem, habet fugitivos, habet sceleratam impiorum manum; est ipse confidens, impotens, gladiatorio generi mortis addictus. Quam ob rem, quoniam, Dolabella hesterno die hoste decreto, bellum gerundum est, imperator est deligendus.

Duae dictae sunt sententiae, quarum neutram probo, alteram, quia semper, nisi cum est necesse, periculosam arbitror, alteram, quia alienam his
17 temporibus existimo. Nam extraordinarium imperium populare atque ventosum est, minime nostrae gravitatis, minime huius ordinis. Bello Antiochino magno et gravi cum L. Scipioni provincia Asia obvenisset parumque in eo putaretur esse animi, parum roboris senatusque ad collegam eius, C. Laelium, illius Sapientis patrem, negotium deferret, surrexit P. Africanus, frater maior L. Scipionis, et illam ignominiam a familia deprecatus est dixitque et in fratre suo summam virtutem esse summumque consilium neque se ei legatum id aetatis iisque rebus gestis defuturum. Quod cum ab eo esset dictum, nihil est de Scipionis provincia commutatum, nec plus extraordinarium imperium ad id bellum quaesitum quam duobus antea maximis Punicis bellis, quae a consulibus aut a dictatoribus gesta et confecta sunt, quam Pyrrhi, quam Philippi,

[1] One that an extraordinary command should be given; the other that the consuls of the year should conduct the war.

[2] The Great, king of Syria, defeated in 190 B.C. by Scipio at Magnesia, and deprived of his conquests in Asia Minor.

[3] Against Carthage, the first from 263–241 B.C.; the second from 218–201. The third was from 150–146.

[4] King of Epirus. The war was from 280–275.

enemy, he must be followed up in war. For he is not inactive; he has a legion, he has fugitive slaves, he has an accursed gang of rebels. he is himself headstrong, uncontrollable, destined to a death like a gladiator's. Wherefore, since Dolabella was yesterday pronounced by decree an enemy, and we must wage war, we must choose a general.

Two opinions have been delivered,[1] of which I approve neither; the one because I always regard it as dangerous, save where inevitable; the other because I think it unsuited to these times. For an extraordinary command springs from the fickle temper of the mob, and is very little suited to our dignity, very little to this our order. In the war with Antiochus,[2] a great and serious war, when the province of Asia had fallen to the lot of Lucius Scipio, and he was thought possessed of too little spirit, too little energy, and the Senate was for entrusting the conduct of the war to his colleague, Caius Laelius, the father of the well-known Laelius the Wise, Publius Africanus, the elder brother of Lucius Scipio, got up, and protested against such ignominy to the family, and said that in his brother were found the greatest valour and the greatest judgment, and that he himself, even at his age, and after his exploits, would not refuse to be his legate. When he had said that no change was made in regard to Scipio's province; nor was an extraordinary command sought for the conduct of that war more than it had been in the two great Punic wars[3] previously, which were waged and concluded by consuls or dictators; or in the war with Pyrrhus,[4] or Philip,[5] or

[5] Philip V, King of Macedon, at war with Rome 214–194.

quam post Achaico bello, quam Punico tertio, ad quod populus Romanus ita sibi ipse delegit idoneum ducem, P. Scipionem, ut eum tamen bellum gerere consulem vellet.

18 VIII. Cum Aristonico bellum gerundum fuit P. Licinio L. Valerio consulibus. Rogatus est populus, quem id bellum gerere placeret. Crassus consul, pontifex maximus, Flacco collegae, flamini Martiali, multam dixit, si a sacris discessisset; quam multam populus Romanus remisit, pontifici tamen flaminem parere iussit. Sed ne tum quidem populus Romanus ad privatum detulit bellum, quamquam erat Africanus, qui anno ante de Numantinis triumpharat; qui cum longe omnes belli gloria et virtute superaret, duas tamen tribus solas tulit. Ita populus Romanus consuli potius Crasso quam privato Africano bellum gerendum dedit. De Cn. Pompei imperiis, summi viri atque omnium principis, tribuni pl. turbulenti tulerunt. Nam Sertorianum bellum a senatu privato datum est, quia consules recusabant, cum L. Philippus pro consulibus eum se mittere dixit, non pro consule.

19 Quae igitur haec comitia, aut quam ambitionem

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[1] Against the Achaean League, which ended in 146 in the loss of Greek independence.

[2] Who claimed in 131 the kingdom of Pergamus on the death of Attalus III who had bequeathed it to the Romans.

[3] Numantia in Spain had revolted, and maintained a war with Rome for several years.

[4] The consul himself acted illegally; as Pont. Max. he might not leave Italy.

[5] These were (1) over the Mediterranean coasts for the suppression of piracy (Lex Gabinia of 67); (2) in Asia for the war against Mithridates, king of Pontus (Lex Manilia of

afterwards in the Achaean war,[1] or in the third Punic war, for which the Roman people selected for itself a fit general, Publius Scipio, but none the less determined that he should conduct the war as consul.

VIII. With Aristonicus[2] war was to be waged under Publius Licinius and Lucius Valerius as consuls. The Roman people was asked who it was their pleasure should conduct the war. Crassus, the consul, being Supreme Pontiff, threatened to fine his colleague Flaccus, the Flamen of Mars, if he abandoned his sacred office; which fine the Roman people remitted, yet it ordered the Flamen to obey the Pontiff. But not even then did the Roman people entrust the war to a private person, although there was Africanus who the year before had triumphed over the Numantines[3]; although he far surpassed all men in reputation and valour, he carried two tribes only. Accordingly the Roman people gave the conduct of the war to the Consul Crassus rather than to Africanus, a private citizen.[4] As for the commands of Cnaeus Pompeius, that great and pre-eminent man, it was turbulent tribunes of the commons who proposed them.[5] For the war with Sertorius was assigned by the Senate to a private person[6] because the consuls refused it; and so Lucius Philippus said that he sent him "for the consuls," not as proconsul.

What then is this election? or what is this

66). C. conveniently forgets that he himself supported the latter law.

[6] Pompeius. Q. Sertorius, a lieutenant of Marius, the popular leader, on Sulla's return to Italy in 83 B.C. fled to Spain, where he set up an independent government.

constantissimus et gravissimus civis, L. Caesar, in senatum introduxit? Clarissimo viro atque innocentissimo decrevit imperium, privato tamen; in quo maximum nobis onus imposuit. Adsensus ero, ambitionem induxero in curiam; negaro, videbor suffragio meo tamquam comitiis honorem homini amicissimo denegavisse. Quodsi comitia placet in senatu haberi, petamus, ambiamus; tabella modo detur nobis, sicut populo data est. Cur committis, Caesar, ut aut praestantissimus vir, si tibi non sit adsensum, repulsam tulisse videatur, aut unus quisque nostrum praeteritus, si, cum pari dignitate simus, eodem honore digni non putemur?

20 At enim (nam id exaudio) C. Caesari adulescentulo imperium extraordinarium mea sententia dedi. Ille enim mihi praesidium extraordinarium dederat; cum dico "mihi," senatui dico populoque Romano. A quo praesidium res publica ne cogitatum quidem tantum haberet, ut sine eo salva esse non posset, huic extraordinarium imperium non darem? Aut exercitus adimendus aut imperium dandum fuit; quae est enim ratio, aut qui potest fieri, ut sine imperio teneatur exercitus? Non igitur, quod ereptum non est, id existimandum est datum; eripuissetis C. Caesari, patres conscripti, imperium, nisi dedissetis. Milites veterani, qui illius auctori-

[1] P. Servilius, who subdued in 76 B.C. the Isaurian pirates.

canvass which that most consistent and influential citizen, Lucius Caesar, has introduced into the Senate? He has proposed to assign the command to a man of the highest nobility and integrity, but a private person;[1] thereby he has imposed on us a very great responsibility. Supposing I assent, I shall introduce a canvass into the Senate-house; supposing I say No, I shall appear by my vote, as if at an election, to have denied an honour to a very great friend. But if our pleasure is that an election should be held in the Senate, let us be candidates, let us canvass; only let a voting-tablet be given us, as it is given to the people. Why, Caesar, do you compel such an alternative, that either a man of great eminence may appear to have suffered defeat if we do not agree with you, or that each of us is passed over, though of equal dignity, if we are not thought worthy of the same honour?

But—for I overhear that objection—I by my own proposal gave an extraordinary command to the stripling Caius Caesar Yes, for he had given me extraordinary protection; and when I say "me," I mean the Senate and the Roman people. When the State had received from a man such protection as had been not even imagined, such that without it there could be no safety, was I not to give him an extraordinary command? I had either to take away his army, or to give him the command; for what method is there, or can be, of holding an army together without a command? What is not wrested away should not therefore be regarded as given: you would have wrested from Caius Caesar his command, Conscript Fathers, if you had not given it. The veteran soldiers who, attaching themselves to

tatem, imperium, nomen secuti pro re publica arma ceperant, volebant sibi ab illo imperari; legio Martia et legio quarta ita se contulerant ad auctoritatem senatus et rei publicae dignitatem, ut deposcerent imperatorem et ducem C. Caesarem. Imperium C. Caesari belli necessitas, fasces senatus dedit. Otioso vero et nihil agenti privato, obsecro te, L. Caesar (cum peritissimo homine mihi res est), quando imperium senatus dedit?

IX. Sed de hoc quidem hactenus, ne refragari homini amicissimo ac de me optime merito videar; etsi quis potest refragari non modo non petenti,
21 verum etiam recusanti? Illa vero, patres conscripti, aliena consulum dignitate, aliena temporum gravitate sententia est, ut consules Dolabellae persequendi causa Asiam et Syriam sortiantur. Dicam, cur inutile rei publicae, sed prius, quam turpe consulibus sit, videte. Cum consul designatus obsideatur, cum in eo liberando salus sit posita rei publicae, cum a populo Romano pestiferi cives parricidaeque desciverint, cumque id bellum geramus, quo bello de dignitate, de libertate, de vita decernamus, si in potestatem quis Antoni venerit, proposita sint tormenta atque cruciatus, cumque harum rerum omnium decertatio consulibus optimis et fortissimis

[1] P. Servilius.

his authority, his command, and his name, had taken up arms on behalf of the State, wished to be commanded by him; the Martian legion and the fourth upheld the authority of the Senate and the honour of the State only to demand as their general and leader Caius Caesar. His command the necessities of war gave Caius Caesar, the Senate its ensigns. But to a private person, unoccupied and doing nothing—I beg you to tell me, Lucius Caesar, for I have to deal with a man well versed in precedents—when has the Senate ever given command?

IX. But enough of this, lest I appear to be opposing a man who is my great friend, and has done me much kindness; and yet who can oppose a man[1] that not only does not ask, but refuses command? But that other proposal, Conscript Fathers, is not agreeable to the dignity of the consuls, not agreeable to the severity of the crisis—the proposal that the consuls, by way of prosecuting the war with Dolabella, should have Asia and Syria allotted to them. I will explain why it is inexpedient to the State, but first consider how dishonouring it is to the consuls. When a consul elect is being besieged, when the safety of the State is dependent on his relief, when pestilent citizens and murderers have revolted from the Roman people, and when we are waging a war, a war in which we are contending on behalf of our honour, our liberty, our lives; when, if any man fall into the power of Antonius, racks and tortures are proposed for him; and when the struggle on behalf of all these things has been committed and entrusted to two most excellent and valiant consuls,

commissa et commendata sit, Asiae et Syriae mentio fiet, ut aut suspicioni crimen aut invidiae materiam
22 dedisse videamur? At vero ita decernunt, "ut liberato Bruto"; id enim restabat, ut relicto, deserto, prodito.

Ego vero mentionem omnino provinciarum factam dico alienissimo tempore. Quamvis enim intentus animus tuus sit, C. Pansa, sicut est, ad virum fortissimum et omnium clarissimum liberandum, tamen rerum natura cogit te necessario referre animum aliquando ad Dolabellam persequendum et partem aliquam in Asiam et Syriam derivare curae et cogitationis tuae. Si autem fieri posset, vel plures te animos habere vellem, quos omnes ad Mutinam intenderes. Quod quoniam fieri non potest, isto te animo, quem habes praestantissimum atque optimum, nihil volumus
23 nisi de Bruto cogitare. Facis tu id quidem et eo maxime incumbis, ut intellego; duas tamen res, magnas praesertim, non modo agere uno tempore, sed ne cogitando quidem explicare quisquam potest. Incitare et inflammare tuum istuc praestantissimum studium, non ad aliam ulla ex parte curam transferre debemus.

X. Adde istuc sermones hominum, adde suspiciones, adde invidiam. Imitare me, quem tu semper laudasti, qui instructam ornatamque a senatu provinciam deposui, ut incendium patriae omissa omni cogitatione restinguerem. Nemo erit praeter unum me, quicum profecto, si quid interesse tua putasses, pro summa familiaritate nostra communi-

[1] This was, on the motion of Calenus, carried: see Intr. The only alternative, says C., to release was betrayal.

[2] C. after his consulship resigned Gallia Cisalpina. The conflagration was the Catilinarian conspiracy.

shall we talk of Asia and Syria, and so appear to have afforded cause for suspicion, or ground for odium? Oh, but their proposal is "only after Brutus is set free";[1] for they might have said "abandoned, deserted, betrayed."

But I say that any mention at all of the provinces has been made at a most inopportune time. For however much your mind, Caius Pansa, may be, as it is, directed to the relief of the most valiant and the noblest of all men, yet the nature of the case necessarily forces you sometimes to turn your mind to the pursuit of Dolabella, and to divert to Asia and Syria some portion of your care and your thoughts. But, if it were possible, I would wish you had even several minds, that you might direct them all towards Mutina. Since that cannot be, we wish you with the most excellent and loyal mind you possess only to think of Brutus. That indeed you are doing, and with the greatest application, as I understand, but two things, above all, two great ones, no man can, I do not say, transact at the same time, but even think out with clearness. We should excite and kindle that most excellent zeal of yours, and not transfer it to some other task in any direction.

X. Add to that the talk of men, add their suspicions, add the odium. Copy me, whom you have always praised, who resigned a province[2] organised and equipped by the Senate, so that, dismissing every other thought, I might quench the conflagration that was devouring my country. Except myself alone, with whom you would, having regard to our close friendship, certainly have consulted had you thought anything closely concerned you, there will

casses, qui credat te invito provinciam tibi esse decretam. Hanc, quaeso, pro tua singulari sapientia reprime famam atque effice, ne id, quod non curas,
24 cupere videare. Quod quidem eo vehementius tibi laborandum est, quia in eandem cadere suspicionem collega, vir clarissimus, non potest. Nihil horum scit, nihil suspicatur; bellum gerit, in acie stat, de sanguine et de spiritu decertat; ante provinciam sibi decretam audiet, quam potuerit tempus ei rei datum suspicari. Vereor, ne exercitus quoque nostri, qui non dilectus necessitate, sed voluntariis studiis se ad rem publicam contulerunt, tardentur animis, si quicquam aliud a nobis nisi de instanti bello cogitatum putabunt.

Quodsi provinciae consulibus expetendae videntur, sicut saepe multis clarissimis viris expetitae sunt, reddite prius nobis Brutum, lumen et decus civitatis; qui ita conservandus est ut illud signum, quod de caelo delapsum Vestae custodiis continetur; quo salvo salvi sumus futuri. Tunc vel in caelum vos, si fieri potuerit, umeris nostris tollemus, provincias certe dignissimas vobis deligemus; nunc, quod agitur, agamus.

Agitur autem, liberine vivamus an mortem obe-
25 amus, quae certe servituti anteponenda est. Quid, si etiam tarditatem adfert ista sententia ad Dolabellam persequendum? Quando enim veniet consul? An id exspectamus, quoad ne vestigium quidem Asiae civitatum atque urbium relinquatur? "At

[1] The Palladium, or image of Pallas, which was kept in the citadel of Troy as a safeguard of the city, and was afterwards in Rome. It was, according to one account, brought by Aeneas to Italy. Paley suggests it was probably a meteoric stone. See Ov. *Fast.* 6. 419 *seqq.* The word has become in English symbolic of a safeguard.

be no one who will believe that the province was assigned to you against your wish. I beseech you, act in accordance with your singular wisdom, and crush this report, so that you may not appear to be coveting what you do not care for. And you must strive all the more earnestly, because your most illustrious colleague cannot fall under the same suspicion. He knows nothing, he suspects nothing of these things; he is waging a war: he stands in battle-array; he is fighting for his own existence; he will hear a province has been assigned to him before he can have any suspicion that time has been given to discuss that matter. I fear that our armies too, who have come to the assistance of the State, not under a fixed levy, but in their own voluntary zeal, may have their spirits checked if they think we have anything else in contemplation but the urgent war.

But if provinces seem to consuls desirable things —as they have often been desired by the noblest men—first restore to us Brutus, the light and ornament of the community, who should be preserved as carefully as that statue which fell down from heaven, and is kept in the custody of Vesta, and whose safety means we also shall be safe.[1] Then we will, if it be possible, lift you to the very sky on our shoulders; at any rate we will choose for you the most worthy provinces; now let us set ourselves to the issue we have at hand.

That issue is whether we are to live as free men or die; and death is assuredly to be preferred to slavery. And what if that proposal of yours also cause delay in our pursuit of Dolabella? For when will a consul come? Are we waiting until not even a vestige of the States and cities of Asia is left?

mittent aliquem de suo numero." Valde mihi probari potest, qui paulo ante clarissimo viro privato imperium extra ordinem non dedi. "At hominem dignum mittent." Num P. Servilio digniorem? At eum quidem civitas non habet. Quod ergo ipse nemini putavi dandum ne a senatu quidem, id ego
26 unius iudicio delatum comprobem? Expedito nobis homine et parato, patres conscripti, opus est et eo, qui imperium legitimum habeat, qui praeterea auctoritatem, nomen, exercitum, perspectum animum in re publica liberanda.

XI. Quis igitur is est? Aut M. Brutus aut C. Cassius aut uterque. Decernerem plane sicut multa "in consulibus, alterum ambosve," ni Brutum colligassemus in Graecia et eius auxilium ad Italiam vergere quam ad Asiam maluissemus, non ut ex ea acie respectum haberemus, sed ut ipsa acies subsidium haberet etiam transmarinum. Praeterea, patres conscripti, M. Brutum retinet etiam nunc C. Antonius, qui tenet Apolloniam, magnam urbem et gravem, tenet, opinor, Byllidem, tenet Amantiam, instat Epiro, urget Oricum, habet aliquot cohortes, habet equitatum. Hinc si Brutus erit traductus ad aliud bellum, Graeciam certe amiserimus. Est autem etiam de Brundisio atque illa ora Italiae providendum. Quamquam miror tam diu morari Antonium; solet enim ipse accipere manicas nec diutius obsidionis metum sustinere. Quod si confecerit Brutus et

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[1] And an *expeditus homo* (cf. end of ch. x) being required.
[2] *i.e.* the army of the Consuls Hirtius and Pansa
[3] *i.e.* he likes to set out when he chooses and does not generally delay till he is forced to move. There is a note of contempt in the word *manicas*, as effeminate wear.

"But they will send someone of their own body." A proposal greatly to be approved of by me who a while ago refused an extraordinary command to a most distinguished man, if a private citizen! "But they will send a man worthy of the office." More worthy than Publius Servilius? But the community does not possess such a man. When I thought an appointment should be given to no one, not even by the Senate, am I to approve of it being entrusted to one man's decision? We require, Conscript Fathers, a man unengaged and ready; one that has a legitimate command, and authority besides, a name, an army, and a spirit proved in the liberation of the State.

XI. Who then is that man? Either Marcus Brutus, or Caius Cassius, or both. I should propose simply, as often is done, "in the case of consuls, one or both," had we not tied[1] Brutus to Greece, and not preferred his assistance should be directed towards Italy rather than to Asia; not that we might have a means of escape from the sphere of operations in Italy, but that the army there[2] should itself have a support from over the sea also. Besides, Conscript Fathers, even now Marcus Brutus is detained by Caius Antonius, who holds the great and important city of Apollonia, and holds, I think, Byllis, holds Amantia, is pressing on Epirus, is threatening Oricum, and who has some cohorts and cavalry. If Brutus is drawn away from there to another war, we shall certainly have lost Greece. And we have also to see to Brundisium and that shore of Italy. And yet I wonder Antonius delays so long; for he likes to put on his gloves himself,[3] and not endure too long the terrors of a siege. But if Brutus finishes his work,

intellexerit plus se rei publicae profuturum, si Dola-
bellam persequatur, quam si in Graecia maneat, aget
ipse per sese, ut adhuc quoque fecit, neque in tot
incendiis, quibus confestim succurrendum est, ex-
27 pectabit senatum. Nam et Brutus et Cassius multis
iam in rebus ipse sibi senatus fuit. Necesse est
enim in tanta conversione et perturbatione omnium
rerum temporibus potius parere quam moribus. Nec
enim nunc primum aut Brutus aut Cassius salutem
libertatemque patriae legem sanctissimam et morem
optimum iudicavit. Itaque, si ad nos nihil referretur
de Dolabella persequendo, tamen ego pro decreto
putarem, cum essent tales virtute, auctoritate, nobi-
litate summi[1] viri, quorum alterius iam nobis notus
esset exercitus, alterius auditus.

XII. Num igitur Brutus exspectavit decreta nostra,
cum studia nosset? Neque enim est in provinciam
suam Cretam profectus, in Macedoniam alienam
advolavit; omnia sua putavit, quae vos vestra esse
velitis; legiones conscripsit novas, excepit veteres,
equitatum ad se abduxit Dolabellae atque eum
nondum tanto parricidio oblitum hostem sua sententia
iudicavit. Nam, ni ita esset, quo iure equitatum a
28 consule abduceret? Quid? C. Cassius pari magni-
tudine animi et consilii praeditus nonne eo ex Italia
consilio profectus est, ut prohiberet Syria Dola-
bellam? qua lege, quo iure? Eo, quod Iuppiter
ipse sanxit, ut omnia, quae rei publicae salutaria
essent, legitima et iusta haberentur; est enim lex

[1] ? *tali virtute*, or *nobilitate summa* (Faernus).

and understands that he will do the State more service by pursuing Dolabella than by remaining in Greece, he will act on his own initiative, as he has hitherto done, and will not, in the midst of so many conflagrations that call for immediate help, wait for the orders of the Senate. For both Brutus and Cassius have been already their own Senate in many things. For we must in such a general upturn and confusion follow the times rather than precedents. And it is not the first time that Brutus or Cassius has regarded the safety and liberty of their country as the holiest law and most excellent precedent. So even if there were no motion before us for the pursuit of Dolabella, yet I should think it as good as a decree, when we have eminent men of such valour, influence, and nobility of birth, with armies, of one of which we already have knowledge, and of the other report.

XII. Did Brutus then wait for our decrees when he knew our minds? For he has not set out for his province of Crete; he has hurried into that of another, into Macedonia[1]; he considered that all things were his that you wish to be yours; he enrolled new legions, received old ones; he withdrew to himself Dolabella's cavalry, and in his own judgment regarded him, though as yet not stained by such a murder, as an enemy. Had it not been so, by what right would he withdraw his cavalry from a consul? Again, did not Caius Cassius, a man endowed with equal greatness of mind and judgment, set out from Italy with the avowed object of keeping Dolabella out of Syria? Under what law? By what right? By that which Jupiter himself has sanctioned, that all things salutary for the State should be held as lawful and right; for law is nothing else but a

[1] The Senate had on June 1 allotted Crete to Brutus, Macedonia to A., and Africa to Cassius. The subsequent allotment of Mac. to C. Antonius (*Phil.* iii. 10) C. repudiates: cf. *Phil.* x. 5.

nihil aliud nisi recta et a numine deorum tracta
ratio imperans honesta, prohibens contraria. Huic
igitur legi paruit Cassius, cum est in Syriam pro-
fectus, alienam provinciam, si homines legibus scriptis
29 uterentur, his vero oppressis suam lege naturae.
Sed ut ea vestra quoque auctoritate firmentur,
censeo:

"Cum P. Dolabella, quique eius crudelissimi et
taeterrimi facinoris ministri, socii, adiutores fuerunt,
hostes populi Romani a senatu iudicati sint, cumque
senatus P. Dolabellam bello persequendum censuerit,
ut is, qui omnia deorum hominumque iura novo,
inaudito, inexpiabili scelere polluerit nefarioque
se patriae parricidio obstrinxerit, poenas dis homini-
30 busque meritas debitasque persolvat, senatui placere
C. Cassium pro consule provinciam Syriam optinere,
ut qui optimo iure eam provinciam optinuerit; eum
a Q. Marcio Crispo pro consule, L. Statio Murco pro
consule, A. Allieno legato exercitum accipere eosque
ei tradere, cumque iis copiis, et si quas praeterea
paraverit, bello P. Dolabellam terra marique persequi.
Eius belli gerendi causa, quibus ei videatur, naves,
nautas, pecuniam ceteraque, quae ad id bellum geren-
dum pertineant, ut imperandi in Syria, Asia, Bithynia,
Ponto ius potestatemque habeat, utique, quamcumque
in provinciam eius belli gerendi causa advenerit, ibi
maius imperium C. Cassi pro consule sit, quam eius
erit, qui eam provinciam tum optinebit, cum C.

principle of right derived from the will of the Gods, commanding what is honest, forbidding the contrary. This was the law, then, Cassius obeyed when he set out into Syria, a province that, if men obeyed written laws, belonged to another, but that, when these had been overthrown, was his by the law of nature. But, in order that this may also be confirmed by your authority, I move that:

"Whereas Publius Dolabella, and those that were the ministers, allies, and abettors of his most cruel and savage crime, have been declared by the Senate enemies of the Roman people; and whereas the Senate has decreed that Publius Dolabella should be attacked in war, to the end that he who, by a new, unheard-of, and inexpiable crime, has polluted all the laws of Gods and men, and has involved himself in a murderous attack on his country, may pay to Gods and men the penalties deserved and due—It is the pleasure of the Senate that Caius Cassius, proconsul, shall hold the province of Syria with the best possible title; that he shall receive from Quintus Marcius Crispus, proconsul, and Lucius Statius Murcus, proconsul, and Aulus Allienus, legate, their armies, and they shall surrender them to him; and with those forces and others he may have besides enrolled shall attack Publius Dolabella in war by land and sea. In order to the waging of that war he shall have the right and power in Syria, Asia, Bithynia, and Pontus of making requisitions, from whomsoever he thinks good, of ships, sailors, and money, and other things pertaining to the carrying on of that war; and that, into whatever province he shall come for the carrying on of that war, there Caius Cassius, proconsul, shall have a greater authority than the man who shall then

Cassius pro consule in eam provinciam venerit.
31 Regem Deiotarum patrem et regem Deiotarum filium, si, ut multis bellis saepe numero imperium populi Romani iuverint, item C. Cassium pro consule copiis suis opibusque iuvissent, senatui populoque Romano gratum esse facturos; itemque si ceteri reges, tetrarchae dynastaeque fecissent, senatum populumque Romanum eorum officii non immemorem futurum. Utique C. Pansa A. Hirtius consules, alter ambove, si eis videretur, re publica recuperata de provinciis consularibus, praetoriis ad hunc ordinem primo quoque tempore referant; interea provinciae ab iis, a quibus optinentur, optineantur, quoad cuique ex senatus consulto successum sit."

32 XIII. Hoc senatus consulto ardentem inflammabitis et armatum armabitis Cassium; nec enim animum eius potestis ignorare nec copias. Animus is est, quem videtis, copiae, quas audistis, fortes et constantes viri, qui ne vivo quidem Trebonio Dolabellae latrocinium in Syriam penetrare sivissent.[1] Allienus, familiaris et necessarius meus, post interitum Treboni profecto ne dici quidem se legatum Dolabellae volet. Est Q. Caecili Bassi, privati illius quidem, sed fortis
33 et praeclari viri, robustus et victor exercitus. Deiotari regis et patris et filii et magnus et nostro more institutus exercitus, summa in filio spes, summa ingenii indoles summaque virtus. Quid dicam de

[1] So the MSS. Halm suggests *fortis et constantis viri . . . sivisset.* Madvig thinks something has fallen out after *audisset.*

hold that province when Caius Cassius proconsul comes into that province. That King Deiotarus the father and King Deiotarus the son, if they shall help Caius Cassius, proconsul, with their troops and resources, as in many wars they have helped the empire of the Roman people, will earn the gratitude of the Senate and Roman people; and also if the other kings, tetrarchs, and dynasts shall do the same thing, the Senate and the Roman people will not be forgetful of their services. And that Caius Pansa and Aulus Hirtius, consuls, the one or both of them, if it seem good to them, after the re-establishment of the State, do at the earliest moment refer the question of the consular and praetorian provinces to this body; in the meantime let the provinces be held by their present holders until a successor for each be appointed by senatorial decree."

XIII. By this decree of the Senate you will inflame the ardour of Cassius, and will arm him with additional arms; for you cannot be ignorant of his spirit and of his forces. His spirit is as you see; his forces those you have heard of, brave and determined men, who, even if Trebonius had been alive, would not have allowed the brigandage of Dolabella to penetrate into Syria. Allienus, my close friend and connexion, after the death of Trebonius will certainly be unwilling even to be called the legate of Dolabella. Quintus Caecilius Bassus, without a commission, but a brave and distinguished man, has a strong and victorious army. Each of the Deiotari, the kings, father and son, has an army both large and trained in our fashion; the son is a man of the highest promise, of the highest natural intellect, and of the highest character. What am I to say of the

patre? cuius benivolentia in populum Romanum est ipsius aequalis aetati; qui non solum socius imperatorum nostrorum fuit in bellis, verum etiam dux copiarum suarum. Quae de illo viro Sulla, quae Murena, quae Servilius, quae Lucullus quam ornate, quam honorifice, quam graviter saepe in senatu prae-
34 dicaverunt! Quid de Cn. Pompeio loquar? qui unum Deiotarum in toto orbe terrarum ex animo amicum vereque benivolum, unum fidelem populo Romano iudicavit. Fuimus imperatores ego et M. Bibulus in propinquis finitimisque provinciis; ab eodem rege adiuti sumus et equitatu et pedestribus copiis. Secutum est hoc acerbissimum et calamitosissimum civile bellum; in quo quid faciendum Deiotaro, quid omnino rectius fuerit, dicere non est necesse, praesertim cum contra ac Deiotarus sensit victoria belli iudicarit. Quo in bello si fuit error, communis ei fuit cum senatu; sin recta sententia, ne victa quidem causa vituperanda est. Ad has copias accedent alii reges, etiam dilectus accedent.
35 Neque vero classes deerunt; tanti Tyrii Cassium faciunt, tantum eius in Syria nomen atque Phoenice est.

XIV. Paratum habet imperatorem C. Cassium, patres conscripti, res publica contra Dolabellam, nec paratum solum, sed peritum atque fortem. Magnas ille res gessit ante Bibuli, summi viri, adventum, cum Parthorum nobilissimos duces,[1] maximas copias fudit Syriamque immani Parthorum impetu liberavit.

[1] *Pacori nobilissimi ducis* (Ursinus folld. by Halm).

[1] He had assisted Sulla, Murena, and Lucullus in separate wars (84–70 B.C.) against Mithridates, king of Pontus; and P. Servilius Varia against the pirates in Cilicia in 78 B.C.

father? whose goodwill to the Roman people is coeval with his own age; who has been not only the ally of our generals in war, but the leader of his own forces also. How often have Sulla, Murena, Servilius, Lucullus spoken of that man in the Senate; in what earnest terms of compliment and honour![1] What shall I say of Cnaeus Pompeius, who considered Deiotarus to be beyond any man in all the world the whole-hearted friend and true well-wisher and faithful ally of the Roman people? Marcus Bibulus and I were in command in neighbouring and adjacent provinces; we were helped by this same king both with cavalry and infantry forces. There followed this most bitter and calamitous civil war,[2] in which I need not say what Deiotarus should have done, or what would have been the better policy, especially as victory gave judgment in a manner contrary to his feelings.[3] If in that war he made a mistake, the mistake was shared with the Senate; if his judgment was right, we should not abuse even a vanquished cause. To these forces will be added other kings, levies will also be added. Nor indeed will fleets be wanting; so great is the opinion the Tyrians have of Cassius, so great is his name in Syria and Phoenicia.

XIV. The State has against Dolabella, Conscript Fathers, in Caius Cassius a general ready, and not only ready but skilled and brave. He did great things before the arrival of the valiant Bibulus when he routed the most distinguished generals and the innumerable forces of the Parthians, and freed Syria from the ruthless assault of the Parthians. His

[2] Between Caesar and Pompeius.
[3] He had supported Pompeius.

Maximam eius et singularem laudem praetermitto; cuius enim praedicatio nondum omnibus grata est, hanc memoriae potius quam vocis testimonio conservemus.

36 Animadverti, patres conscripti, exaudivi[1] etiam nimium a me Brutum, nimium Cassium ornari, Cassio vero sententia mea dominatum et principatum dari. Quos ego orno? Nempe eos, qui ipsi sunt ornamenta rei publicae. Quid? D. Brutum nonne omnibus sententiis semper ornavi? Num igitur reprehenditis? An Antonios potius ornarem, non modo suarum familiarum, sed Romani nominis probra atque dedecora? an Censorinum ornem, in bello hostem, in pace sectorem? an cetera ex eodem latrocinio naufragia colligam? Ego vero istos otii, concordiae, legum, iudiciorum, libertatis inimicos tantum abest ut ornem, ut effici non possit, quin eos tam oderim, quam rem publicam diligo.

37 "Vide," inquit, "ne veteranos offendas"; hoc enim vel maxime exaudio. Ego autem veteranos tueri debeo, sed eos quibus sanitas est, certe timere non debeo. Eos vero veteranos, qui pro re publica arma ceperunt secutique sunt C. Caesarem, auctorem beneficiorum paternorum, hodieque rem publicam defendunt cum magno periculo,[2] non tueri solum, sed etiam commodis augere debeo. Qui autem quiescunt, ut septima, ut octava legio, in magna gloria

[1] *exaudirui* (MSS.); *exaudivi* (Kayser).
[2] *vitae suae periculo* (Halm).

[1] The assassination of Caesar. [2] Referred to in ch. 5, *ante*.

greatest and especial achievement[1] I pass over; for as the mention of it is not yet welcome to all, let us perpetuate it by the testimony of memory rather than of speech.

I have observed, Conscript Fathers, and I have also heard it whispered, that Brutus, that Cassius receive exaggerated honour from me; moreover, that to Cassius by my proposal is given the position of a master and of a prince. Whom do I honour? assuredly it is the men who are themselves an honour to the State. What! have I not always honoured Decimus Brutus in my proposals? Do you therefore reprove me? Should I rather pay honour to the Antonii, the shame and disgrace, not of their families alone, but of the Roman name? or should I honour Censorinus,[2] in war an enemy, in peace a buyer of confiscations? or must I collect the other wreckages from the same brigandage? As for me, I am so far from honouring those enemies of quiet, concord, laws, law-courts, and liberty, that I cannot help but hate them as fully as I love the State.

"See," he says, "you do not offend the veterans"; this is the whisper I hear most of all. I certainly am bound to safeguard the veterans, those, that is, who are sound in principle, but I am certainly not bound to fear them. But those veterans who have taken up arms in defence of the State, and have followed Caius Caesar, the guarantor of the benefits his father promised, and are to-day defending the State at their great risk—these I am bound, not only to safeguard, but also to load with advantages. And those that are neutral, as the seventh, as the eighth legion, I think should be esteemed worthy of great

et laude ponendos puto. Comites vero Antoni, qui postquam beneficia Caesaris comederunt, consulem designatum obsident, huic urbi ferro ignique minitantur, Saxae se et Cafoni tradiderunt ad facinus praedamque natis, num quis est qui tuendos putet? Ergo aut boni sunt, quos etiam ornare, aut quieti, quos conservare debemus, aut impii, quorum contra furorem bellum et iusta arma cepimus.

38 XV. Quorum igitur veteranorum animos ne offendamus, veremur? eorumne, qui D. Brutum obsidione cupiunt liberare? Quibus cum Bruti salus cara sit, qui possunt Cassi nomen odisse? An eorum, qui utrisque armis vacant? Non vereor, ne acerbus civis quisquam istorum sit, qui otio delectantur. Tertio vero generi non militum veteranorum, sed importunissimorum hostium cupio quam acerbissimum dolorem inurere. Quamquam, patres conscripti, quousque sententias dicemus veteranorum arbitratu? Quod eorum tantum fastidium est, quae tanta arrogantia, ut ad arbitrium illorum imperatores etiam
39 deligamus? Ego autem (dicendum est enim, patres conscripti, quod sentio) non tam veteranos intuendos nobis arbitror, quam quid tirones milites, flos Italiae, quid novae legiones ad liberandam patriam paratissimae, quid cuncta Italia de vestra gravitate sentiat. Nihil enim semper floret, aetas succedit aetati. Diu legiones Caesaris viguerunt, nunc vigent Pansae, vigent Hirti, vigent Caesaris filii, vigent Planci; vincunt numero, vincunt aetatibus; nimirum

honour and praise. But the companions of Antonius, who, now they have eaten up Caesar's gifts, are besieging a consul elect, and threatening this city with fire and sword, and have handed themselves over to Saxa and Cafo, men born for crime and plunder,—is there any man that thinks they should be safeguarded? Therefore the veterans are either loyal, and we are bound even to distinguish them; or neutral, and we are bound to preserve them; or disloyal, and against their madness we are at war, and have justly taken up arms.

XV. Who then are the veterans whose feelings we fear to offend? Those who desire to liberate Decimus Brutus from siege? As the safety of Brutus is precious to them, how can they hate the name of Cassius? Or are they those veterans who stand aloof from either side? I am not afraid that any citizen of those whose delight is repose will be indignant. But the third class, not of veteran soldiers, but of most savage enemies, I wish to sear with a brand of the bitterest pain. But how long, Conscript Fathers, shall we express our opinions at the precept of the veterans? What means all this conceit of theirs, all this arrogance, so that we even choose our generals as they prescribe? But I—for I must say, Conscript Fathers, what I feel—I think we should regard not so much the veterans as what the recruits, the flower of Italy, what the new legions now fully ready to liberate their country, what the whole of Italy feels regarding your firmness. For nothing is for ever flourishing; age succeeds to age. Long were the legions of Caesar vigorous; now the Pansas are vigorous, the Hirtii, the sons of Caesar, and the Planci; they are superior in numbers, they are

etiam auctoritate vincunt; id enim bellum gerunt, quod ab omnibus gentibus comprobatur. Itaque his praemia promissa sunt, illis persoluta. Fruantur illi suis, persolvantur his, quae spopondimus; id enim deos immortales spero aequissimum iudicare.

40 Quae cum ita sint, eam, quam dixi, sententiam vobis, patres conscripti, censeo comprobandam.

superior in age; assuredly they are also superior in authority, for they are waging a war that is approved of all nations. Accordingly, to these rewards have been promised, to the others they have been paid. Let those others[1] enjoy what they have, to these let there be paid the rewards we have promised; for that, my hope is, the immortal Gods adjudge to be most equitable.

In these circumstances, I think, Conscript Fathers, that the proposal I made to you should be affirmed.[2]

[1] *i.e.* the veterans. [2] It was, however, lost: see Intr.

INTRODUCTION TO PHILIPPIC XII

The partisans of Antonius, still working in his interest, prevailed on the Consul Pansa about the end of March to propose that a second embassy should be sent to Antonius, to consist of P. Servilius, Cicero, Calenus, L. Piso, and L. Caesar. There seems to have been an intimation by Antonius' friends that he was now in a disposition to submit to reason. Accordingly on the first day of the debate an embassy was agreed to, and Cicero himself seems not to have opposed it, being no doubt also solicitous for the safety of D. Brutus, who was in peril of being treated like Trebonius. On the next day, however, P. Servilius spoke against the proposal, and it was abandoned. It was then that the twelfth Philippic was delivered.

Cicero said that the mistake made in agreeing to an embassy it was the duty of a wise man to correct, there being no real evidence of any change in Antonius; that an embassy could do, indeed had done, nothing but harm to the State; that the ardour of the boroughs and colonies and of the legions would be damped; that, as no concessions could be made, no terms of peace were possible; and that the re-admission of so many criminals to Rome was dangerous. Finally, he said that he himself was the last person that should have been selected as ambassador, as being from the first the bitterest enemy of Antonius. Moreover, he showed the personal danger he himself incurred, and pleaded that

his life should be jealously guarded for the sake of the State.

At the end of March Pansa departed to join his colleague Hirtius before Mutina.

This speech is really a thirteenth, as we learn from Cicero himself in a letter to Cassius (*ad Fam.* 12. 7) that, after the delivery of the eleventh Philippic, he was introduced by M. Servilius to a public meeting, and made a speech in which his eulogy of Cassius was received "with such unanimous applause as he had never seen before." In this speech he had defended Cassius, and had "promised and almost guaranteed that he had not waited, and would not wait, for decrees of the Senate, but would himself in his own fashion defend the State."

We learn from the same letter that Cicero's harangue was made contrary to the wish of Cassius' mother, mother-in-law, and brother, who feared Pansa's resentment.

M. TULLI CICERONIS IN M. ANTONIUM ORATIO PHILIPPICA DUODECIMA

1 I. Etsi minime decere videtur, patres conscripti, falli, decipi, errare eum, cui vos maximis saepe de rebus assentiamini, consolor me tamen, quoniam vobiscum pariter et una cum sapientissimo consule erravi. Nam, cum duo consulares spem honestae pacis nobis attulissent, quod erant familiares M. Antoni, quod domestici, nosse aliquod eius vulnus, quod nobis ignotum esset, videbantur. Apud alterum uxor, liberi, alter cotidie litteras mittere, accipere,
2 aperte favere Antonio. Hi subito hortari ad pacem, quod iam diu non fecissent, non sine causa videbantur. Accessit consul hortator. At qui consul! Si prudentiam quaerimus, qui minime falli posset, si virtutem, qui nullam pacem probaret nisi concedente atque victo, si magnitudinem animi, qui praeferret mortem servituti. Vos autem, patres conscripti, non tam immemores vestrorum gravissimorum decretorum videbamini, quam spe allata deditionis, quam amici pacem appellare mallent, de imponendis, non accipiendis legibus cogitare. Auxerat autem meam

[1] L. Piso and Q. Fufius Calenus.

THE TWELFTH PHILIPPIC OF M. TULLIUS CICERO AGAINST M. ANTONIUS

Though it seems most unseemly, Conscript Fathers, that a man, to whose advice on most important matters you often assent, should be deceived, cajoled, should err, yet I console myself as it is in your company and together with a consul of the greatest wisdom that I have erred. For when two consulars[1] had brought us the hope of an honourable peace, seeing that they were friends of, were intimate with Marcus Antonius, they seemed likely to know of some mishap that had befallen him which was unknown to us. At the house of one are his wife and children; the other was daily writing to, and hearing from him, and was Antonius' avowed partisan. These men, in suddenly inviting us to make peace—a thing they had not done for a long time—appeared to be acting not without a reason. Their invitation the consul supported. And what a consul! If we look for prudence, one that could not easily be deceived; if for patriotism, one that would never approve of a peace except when Antonius was yielding and indeed conquered; if for greatness of mind, one to prefer death to slavery. But you, Conscript Fathers, did not appear so much to be forgetful of your most weighty decrees as, when there came the hope of a surrender which his friends would prefer to call a peace, to contemplate the imposition, not the acceptance, of conditions. My hopes indeed, and also I believe yours,

quidem spem, credo item vestram, quod domum Antoni afflictam maestitia audiebam, lamentari uxorem. Hic etiam fautores Antoni, quorum in
3 vultu habitant oculi mei, tristiores videbam. Quod si non ita est, cur a Pisone et Caleno potissimum, cur hoc tempore, cur tam improviso, cur tam repente pacis est facta mentio? Negat Piso scire se, negat audisse quicquam, negat Calenus rem ullam novam allatam esse. Atque id nunc negant, posteaquam nos pacificatoria legatione implicatos putant. Quid ergo opus est novo consilio, si in re nihil omnino novi est?

II. Decepti, decepti, inquam, sumus, patres conscripti; Antoni est acta causa ab amicis eius, non publica. Quod videbam equidem, sed quasi per caliginem; praestrinxerat aciem animi D. Bruti salus. Quodsi in bello dari vicarii solerent, libenter me, ut D. Brutus emitteretur, pro illo includi paterer.
4 Atque hac voce Q. Fufi capti sumus: "Ne si a Mutina quidem recesserit, audiemus Antonium, ne si in senatus quidem potestate futurum se dixerit?" Durum videbatur; itaque fracti sumus, cessimus. Recedit igitur a Mutina? "Nescio." Paret senatui? "Credo," inquit Calenus; "sed ita, ut teneat dignitatem." Valde hercules vobis laborandum est, patres conscripti, ut vestram dignitatem amittatis, quae maxima est, Antoni, quae neque est ulla neque

had been increased by my hearing that the house of Antonius was afflicted with mourning, and that his wife was in lamentation. Here too I saw that the partisans of Antonius, on whose faces my eyes continually dwell, were depressed. If this be not so, why has mention been made of peace, by Piso and Calenus especially, why at this time, why so unexpectedly, why so suddenly? Piso says he knows of nothing, he says he has not heard of anything; Calenus says no news has arrived. And they now make these denials when they think we are involved in an embassy for peace. What need then for a new policy if in the facts there be nothing at all new?

II. We have been deceived, deceived, I say, Conscript Fathers; it is the cause of Antonius that has been pleaded by his friends, not that of the State. This indeed I saw, but as it were through a mist; the safety of Decimus Brutus had dulled the edge of my intelligence. But if substitutes were commonly allowed in war, I would gladly suffer myself to be shut in instead of him so that Decimus Brutus might be let out. Then too we were taken by this remark of Quintus Fufius: "Even if he withdraw from Mutina, shall we not listen to Antonius? not even if he says he will submit to the jurisdiction of the Senate?" It seemed hard; and so our resolution broke down; we yielded. Does he then withdraw from Mutina? "I do not know." Does he obey the Senate? "I believe so," says Calenus, "but on condition that he maintain his dignity." By Hercules, Conscript Fathers, you must stoutly strive to lose your own dignity, which is very great, and maintain that of Antonius, which neither exists

esse potest, retineatis, ut eam per vos reciperet, quam per se perdidit. Si iacens vobiscum aliquid ageret, audirem fortasse; quamquam—sed hoc malo dicere "audirem." Stanti resistendum est aut concedenda una cum dignitate libertas.

5 "At non est integrum; constituta legatio est." Quid autem non integrum est sapienti, quod restitui potest? Cuiusvis hominis est errare, nullius nisi insipientis in errore perseverare; posteriores enim cogitationes, ut aiunt, sapientiores solent esse. Discussa est illa caligo, quam paulo ante dixi; diluxit, patet, videmus omnia, neque per nos solum, sed admonemur a nostris. Attendistis, paulo ante praestantissimi viri quae esset oratio. "Maestam," inquit, "domum offendi, coniugem, liberos. Admirabantur boni viri, accusabant amici, quod spe pacis legationem suscepissem." Nec mirum, P. Servili; tuis enim severissimis[1] gravissimisque sententiis omni est non dico dignitate, sed etiam spe salutis
6 spoliatus Antonius. Ad eum ire te legatum quis non miraretur? De me experior, cuius idem consilium quod tuum sentio quam reprehendatur. Nos reprehendimur soli? Quid? vir fortissimus Pansa sine causa paulo ante tam accurate locutus est tamdiu? Quid egit, nisi uti falsam proditionis a se suspicionem depelleret? Unde autem ista suspicio est? Ex pacis patrocinio repentino, quod subito suscepit eodem captus errore quo nos.

[1] So Halm for the MSS. *verissimis*; cf. *Phil.* v. 1. 3.

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[1] *i.e.* "hear what he had to say," though harsher measures might be wiser.

[2] C. seems to mean, "Why send an embassy where we can see from the depression in A.'s family that they have given up hope?"

nor can exist, that he may by your means recover what by himself he has renounced! If he were abject in his negotiations with you, I perhaps would listen to him, though[1]—but I prefer to say "I would listen to him." While he stands firm, you must resist him, or together with your dignity you must resign your liberty.

"But," they say, "the question is not open; an embassy has been appointed." What is not open to a wise man that can be corrected? Every man is liable to err; it is the part only of a fool to persevere in error; for the later thoughts, as the saying is, are usually the wiser. That mist has been dispelled I spoke of just now; light has broken; the case is clear; we see everything, nor with our own eyes only, but we are warned by our friends. You heard just now the speech of a most distinguished man. "I found," he says, "the house, the wife, the children, in mourning.[2] Good men were wondering, my friends were chiding me, that I had in the hope of peace undertaken an embassy." And no wonder, Publius Servilius; for by your most proper and weighty proposals Antonius had been deprived, I do not say of his dignity, but even of hope of safety. Who would not marvel that you should go to him as an envoy? I argue from my own experience: I feel how my course of action, identical with yours, is blamed. Are we the only ones blamed? What! was it without cause that the bravest of men, Pansa, just now made such a precise and lengthy speech? What did he intend but to ward off from himself a suspicion of treachery? And what did that suspicion spring from? From the hasty advocacy of peace which he suddenly adopted, being taken in by the same error as ourselves.

7 III. Quodsi est erratum, patres conscripti, spe falsa atque fallaci, redeamus in viam. Optimus est portus paenitenti mutatio consilii. Quid enim potest, per deos immortales! rei publicae prodesse nostra legatio? Prodesse dico? quid, si etiam obfutura est? Obfutura? quid, si iam nocuit atque obfuit? An vos acerrimam illam et fortissimam populi Romani libertatis recuperandae cupiditatem non imminutam ac debilitatam putatis legatione pacis audita? Quid? municipia censetis, quid? colonias, quid? cunctam Italiam futuram eodem studio, quo contra commune incendium exarserat? An non putamus fore ut eos paeniteat professos esse et prae se tulisse odium in Antonium, qui pecunias polliciti sunt, qui arma, qui se totos et animis et corporibus in salutem rei publicae contulerunt? Quem ad modum nostrum hoc consilium Capua probabit, quae temporibus his Roma altera est? Illa impios cives iudicavit, eiecit, exclusit. Illi, illi, inquam, urbi fortissime conanti e manibus est ereptus Antonius.

8 Quid? legionum nostrarum nervos nonne his consiliis incidimus? Quis est enim, qui ad bellum inflammato animo futurus sit spe pacis oblata? Ipsa illa Martia caelestis et divina legio hoc nuntio languescet et mollietur atque illud pulcherrimum Martium nomen amittet; excident gladii, fluent arma de manibus. Senatum enim secuta non arbi-

[1] A. had illegally attempted (cf. *Phil.* ii. 39) to found a colony at Capua. His colonists were ejected by the Capuans, and he himself roughly handled.

III. But if there has been an error, Conscript Fathers, induced by a vain and fallacious hope, let us return into the right path; the best harbour for repentance is a change of counsel. By Heaven! what advantage to the State can our embassy bring? Advantage, do I say? What if it is even likely to injure it? Likely to injure? What if it has already hurt and injured it? Do you not think the Roman people's most eager and steadfast longing for the recovery of liberty has been lessened and weakened when they hear of an embassy for peace? What do you think of the boroughs? What of the colonies? What of the whole of Italy? That it will be filled with the same zeal with which it had blazed out against the common conflagration? Do we not suppose there will be repentance on the part of those that have professed and manifested hatred against Antonius, those that have promised money, promised arms, and have devoted themselves wholly, soul and body, to the safety of the State? In what fashion will Capua, that is in these days a second Rome, approve this resolution of yours? She judged them disloyal citizens, and cast and shut them out. That is the city, that, I say, from which, when it made a valiant effort to crush him, Antonius was by force rescued.[1]

Again, are we not by this policy cutting the sinews of our legions? for who is likely to have spirits inflamed for war if hope of peace be offered him? That very Martian legion, though a legion of a god-like and divine spirit, will on this report grow languid and soft, and lose that most glorious name of Martian; their swords will fall down, their arms will drop from their hands. For, as it has followed the

trabitur se graviore odio debere esse in Antonium quam senatum. Pudet huius legionis, pudet quartae, quae pari virtute nostram auctoritatem probans non ut consulem et imperatorem suum, sed ut hostem et oppugnatorem patriae reliquit Antonium; pudet optimi exercitus, qui coniunctus est ex duobus, qui iam lustratus, qui profectus ad Mutinam est; qui si pacis, id est timoris nostri, nomen audierit, ut non referat pedem, insistet certe. Quid enim revocante et receptui canente senatu properet dimicare?

9 IV. Quid autem hoc iniustius quam nos inscientibus iis, qui bellum gerunt, de pace decernere, nec solum inscientibus, sed etiam invitis? An vos A. Hirtium, praeclarissimum consulem, C. Caesarem deorum beneficio natum ad haec tempora, quorum epistulas spem victoriae declarantes in manu teneo, pacem velle censetis? Vincere illi expetunt pacisque dulcissimum et pulcherrimum nomen non pactione, sed victoria concupiverunt.

Quid? Galliam quo tandem animo hanc rem audituram putatis? illa enim huius belli propulsandi, administrandi, sustinendi principatum tenet. Gallia D. Bruti nutum ipsum, ne dicam imperium, secuta armis, viris, pecunia belli principia firmavit; eadem crudelitati M. Antoni suum totum corpus obiecit; exhauritur, vastatur, uritur; omnes aequo

[1] Lit. purified. All Roman armies were, before they took the field, purified by a religious ceremony by way of obtaining the blessing of the gods. The armies alluded to are those of Hirtius and Caesar Octavianus.

Senate, it will not think it owes a greater hatred towards Antonius than does the Senate. We are shamed before this legion, shamed before the Fourth, which, esteeming our authority with equal loyalty, deserted Antonius, not as being a consul and their general, but as an enemy and opponent of his country; we are shamed before that most loyal army composed of the two legions, which has been already reviewed,[1] and has set out for Mutina; for if it hear the name of peace, that is, of our fear, though it may not retreat, it will assuredly halt. For why, when the Senate's trumpet sounds the recall should it hasten to fight?

IV. And what is more unjust than this—that we should, without the knowledge of those who are waging the war, decide on peace, and not merely without their knowledge, but also against their will? Aulus Hirtius, that most illustrious consul, or Caius Caesar, one by the blessing of Heaven born for this crisis, whose letters declaring their hope of victory I have in my hand—do you think they wish for peace? They seek to conquer, and have desired to win that sweetest and fairest name of peace, not by bargaining, but by victory.

Again, with what feelings, pray, do you think Gaul will hear of this thing? for she has the preeminence in repelling, and conducting, and sustaining the burden of this war. Gaul, which followed the mere nod, for I will not say the command, of Decimus Brutus, has laid firm the foundations of the war with arms, men, and money; she too has presented her whole body to the cruelty of Marcus Antonius; she is being drained, devastated, burnt with fire; all the injuries of war she suffers with

animo belli patitur iniurias, dum modo repellat
10 periculum servitutis. Et ut omittam reliquas partes Galliae (nam sunt omnes pares), Patavini alios excluserunt, alios eiecerunt missos ab Antonio, pecunia, militibus et, quod maxime deerat, armis nostros duces adiuverunt. Fecerunt idem reliqui, qui quondam in eadem causa erant et propter multorum annorum iniurias alienati a senatu putabantur; quos minime mirum est communicata cum iis re publica fideles esse, qui etiam expertes eius fidem suam semper praestiterunt. His igitur omnibus victoriam sperantibus pacis nomen adferemus, id est desperationem victoriae?

11 V. Quid, si ne potest quidem ulla esse pax? Quae enim est condicio pacis, in qua ei, cum quo pacem facias, nihil concedi potest? Multis rebus a nobis est invitatus ad pacem Antonius, bellum tamen maluit. Missi legati repugnante me, sed tamen missi, delata mandata; non paruit. Denuntiatum est, ne Brutum obsideret, a Mutina discederet; oppugnavit etiam vehementius. Et ad eum legatos de pace mittemus, qui pacis nuntios repudiavit? Verecundioremne coram putamus in postulando fore, quam fuerit tum, cum misit mandata ad senatum? Atqui tum ea petebat, quae videbantur improba omnino, sed tamen aliquo modo posse concedi; nondum erat vestris tam gravibus tamque multis

[1] After the Social War in 89 B.C. the Lex Pompeia conferred a qualified franchise (*jus Latii*) on the communities beyond the Padus, and probably the full franchise on the Cispadani.
[2] Cf. *Phil.* viii. 8 and 9.

equanimity if only she may repel the danger of slavery. And to say nothing of the remaining parts of Gaul—for they are all alike—the Patavians have shut out some, and cast out others of the emissaries of Antonius; they have assisted our commanders with money, with soldiers, and—what was principally lacking—with arms. The rest have done the same, who were formerly in the same case as Patavium, and who, because of the wrongs of many years, were thought to be alienated from the Senate; and yet there is very little wonder they are faithful, now they have been admitted to the franchise, when even without it they always maintained their loyalty.[1] When all these, then, are hoping for victory, shall we offer them the name of peace, that is, the despair of victory?

V. And what if no peace be even possible? For what kind of peace is that where no concession can be made to the man with whom you make peace? Antonius has on many occasions been invited by us to peace, yet he has preferred war. Envoys have been sent though I disapproved: yet they have been sent; orders have been issued: he has not obeyed them. He was solemnly warned not to besiege Brutus, to withdraw from Mutina; he has pressed the siege more vehemently. And shall we send envoys to treat for peace to a man who has rejected the messengers of peace? Do we think he will be more moderate in his demands in their presence than he was formerly when he sent his orders[2] to the Senate? And yet then he asked things which, though they seemed wholly presumptuous, yet might in a way be conceded; he had not as yet been cut to pieces by the verdicts, so severe, so

iudiciis ignominiisque concisus; nunc ea petit, quae dare nullo modo possumus, nisi prius volumus bello nos victos confiteri.

12 Senatus consulta falsa delata ab eo iudicavimus; num ea vera possumus iudicare? Leges statuimus per vim et contra auspicia latas iisque nec populum nec plebem teneri; num eas restitui posse censetis? Sestertium septiens miliens avertisse Antonium pecuniae publicae iudicavistis; num fraude poterit carere peculatus? Immunitates ab eo civitatibus, sacerdotia, regna venierunt; num figentur rursus eae tabulae, quas vos decretis vestris refixistis?

VI. Quodsi ea, quae decrevimus, obruere, num etiam memoriam rerum delere possumus? Quando enim obliviscetur ulla posteritas, cuius scelere in hac vestitus foeditate fuerimus? Ut centurionum legionis Martiae Brundisi profusus sanguis eluatur, num elui praedicatio crudelitatis potest? Ut media praeteream, quae vetustas tollet operum circum Mutinam taetra monimenta, sceleris indicia latrociniique vestigia?

13 Huic igitur importuno atque impuro parricidae quid habemus, per deos immortales! quod remittamus? An Galliam ultimam et exercitum? Quid est aliud non pacem facere, sed differre bellum, nec solum propagare bellum, sed concedere etiam victoriam? An ille non vicerit, si quacumque con-

[1] The *sagum*, or military cloak, worn, even by civilians, as a sign of war; cf. *Phil.* v. 12; viii. 11.

numerous, so ignominious which you passed on him; now he requires what we cannot in any way give unless we are first willing to confess we have been beaten in war.

We have decided that false decrees of the Senate have been entered at the Treasury; can we decide that they were genuine? We have resolved that laws have been proposed by violence and in defiance of the auspices, and that by them neither the whole people nor the commons are bound; do you think they can be upheld? You have decided that Antonius has embezzled seven hundred millions of sesterces of public money; can he be acquitted of peculation? Exemptions from taxation for communities, priestly offices, thrones, have by him been put up for sale; shall those advertisements be again posted up which you by your decrees have torn down?

VI. But if we can rescind our decrees, can we also expunge the memory of the facts? For when will any future generation forget by whose crime it was we have worn this unseemly garb?[1] Though the blood of the centurions of the Martian legions shed at Brundisium may be washed away, can the story of his cruelty be washed away? To pass over intermediate events, what length of time shall obliterate the most foul memorials of his works around Mutina, the proofs of his crime, and the traces of his brigandage?

To this savage and foul murderer what concession then, in Heaven's name, can we make? Further Gaul and an army? What is that but not making peace, but prolonging the war? not only extending war, but also surrendering victory? Will he not have conquered if on any terms he

dicione in hanc urbem cum suis venerit? Armis nunc omnia tenemus, auctoritate valemus plurimum, absunt tot perditi cives nefarium secuti ducem; tamen eorum ora sermonesque, qui in urbe ex eo numero relicti sunt, ferre non possumus. Quid censetis? cum tot uno tempore inruperint, nos arma posuerimus, illi non deposuerint, nonne nos nostris
14 consiliis victos in perpetuum fore? Ponite ante oculos M. Antonium consularem; sperantem consulatum Lucium adiungite; supplete ceteros, neque nostri ordinis solum, honores et imperia meditantes; nolite ne Tirones quidem, Numisios, Mustelas, Seios contemnere; cum iis facta pax non erit pax, sed pactio servitutis. L. Pisonis, amplissimi viri, praeclara vox a te non solum in hoc ordine, Pansa, sed etiam in contione iure laudata est. Excessurum se ex Italia dixit, deos penates et sedes patrias relicturum, si—quod di omen averterint!—rem publicam oppressisset Antonius.

15 VII. Quaero igitur a te, L. Piso, nonne oppressam rem publicam putes, si tot tam impii, tam audaces, tam facinerosi recepti sint? Quos nondum tantis parricidiis contaminatos vix ferebamus, hos nunc omni scelere coopertos tolerabiles censes civitati fore? Aut isto tuo, mihi crede, consilio erit utendum, ut cedamus, abeamus, vitam inopem et vagam per-

[1] Followers of A. of whom little is known. C. in *Phil.* ii. 41 calls Must. *gladiatorum princeps.*

come into this city with his followers? By force of arms we now hold the mastery of all things; in authority we are at the strongest; a host of abandoned citizens are away from Rome, having followed their nefarious leader; none the less to see and listen to those of their number that are left in the city we find intolerable. What think you? When so many of them shall have burst in on us at once, when we have laid down our arms while they have not laid down theirs, shall we not by our own policy be beaten eternally? Set before your eyes Marcus Antonius as consular, add to him Lucius hoping for a consulship; fill up with the rest—and not of our own order only—who look for honours and commands; do not despise even the Tiros, the Numisii, the Mustelas, the Seii[1]; peace made with them will not be peace, but a pact of slavery. A noble utterance made by that most eminent man Lucius Piso has been justly praised by you, Pansa, not only in this assembly but also at a public meeting. He said he would depart from Italy, would abandon his household Gods and his paternal home, if—may the Gods already have averted the omen!—Antonius had crushed the State.

VII. I ask you therefore, Lucius Piso, would you not think the State was crushed if so many disloyal, audacious, guilty men were admitted back? Men we hardly endured while they were not yet stained with so many murders—do you think, now they are covered with every kind of crime, the State will find them tolerable? We must either, believe me, adopt your advice, yield, depart, and pursue a life needy and vagrant; or our necks

sequamur, aut cervices latronibus dandae atque in patria cadendum est. Ubi sunt, C. Pansa, illae cohortationes pulcherrimae tuae, quibus a te excitatus senatus, inflammatus populus Romanus non solum audivit, sed etiam didicit nihil esse homini Romano
16 foedius servitute? Idcircone saga sumpsimus, arma cepimus, iuventutem omnem ex tota Italia excussimus, ut exercitu florentissimo et maximo legati ad pacem mitterentur? Si accipiendam, cur non rogamur? si postulandam, quid timemus? In hac ego legatione sim aut ad id consilium admiscear, in quo ne si dissensero quidem a ceteris, sciturus populus Romanus sit? Ita fiet, ut, si quid remissum aut concessum sit, meo semper periculo peccet Antonius, cum ei peccandi potestas a me concessa videatur.

17 Quodsi habenda cum M. Antoni latrocinio pacis ratio fuit, mea tamen persona ad istam pacem conciliandam minime fuit deligenda. Ego numquam legatos mittendos censui, ego ante reditum legatorum ausus sum dicere, Pacem ipsam si adferrent, quoniam sub nomine pacis bellum lateret, repudiandam, ego princeps sagorum, ego semper illum appellavi hostem, cum alii adversarium, semper hoc bellum, cum alii tumultum. Nec haec in senatu solum, eadem ad populum semper egi, neque solum in ipsum, sed in

[1] For the meaning of "tumult" cf. *Phil.* viii. 1.

must be given over to brigands, and we must fall in our own country. Where, Caius Pansa, are those most noble exhortations of yours with which the Senate was aroused, the Roman people kindled by you, and not merely heard, but learned the lesson, that nothing is so disgraceful to a Roman as slavery? Was it for this we have assumed military garb, taken up arms, and sifted all our youths from the whole of Italy, that, when we had a most efficient and numerous army, envoys should be sent for peace? If to receive peace from Antonius, why are we not so asked in the motion? if to demand it, of what are we afraid? Am I to be one of this embassy, or to mix myself up with that policy in which the Roman people will not even know if I dissent from the rest? The result will be that, if any allowance or concession be made, the misdeeds of Antonius will always be at my risk, as the power of misdoing will appear to have been conceded to him by me.

But if peace with the brigandage of Marcus Antonius is to be considered, yet I was the last man who should have been chosen to bring about that peace. It was I who never thought envoys should be sent; who, before the return of the embassy, ventured to say that even if they brought Peace herself, since under the name of peace lurked war, she should be rejected; I who was the chief adviser of military garb; I who always called him an enemy when others called him an adversary, always called this a war when others called it a tumult.[1] And this not only in the Senate; I always took the same line before the people; and not only against Antonius himself have I always inveighed,

eius socios facinorum et ministros et praesentes et eos, qui una sunt, in totam denique M. Antoni domum
18 sum semper invectus. Itaque, ut alacres et laeti spe pacis oblata inter se impii cives, quasi vicissent, gratulabantur, sic me iniquum eierabant, de me querebantur, diffidebant etiam Servilio; meminerant eius sententiis confixum Antonium; L. Caesarem fortem quidem illum et constantem senatorem, avunculum tamen, Calenum procuratorem, Pisonem familiarem, te ipsum, Pansa, vehementissimum et fortissimum consulem factum iam putant leniorem; non quo ita sit aut esse possit, sed mentio a te facta pacis suspicionem multis attulit immutatae voluntatis. Inter has personas me interiectum amici Antoni moleste ferunt; quibus gerendus mos est, quoniam
19 semel liberales esse coepimus. VIII. Proficiscantur legati optimis ominibus, sed ii proficiscantur, in quibus non offendatur Antonius.

Quodsi de Antonio non laboratis, mihi certe, patres conscripti, consulere debetis. Parcite oculis saltem mèis et aliquam veniam iusto dolori date. Quo enim aspectu videre potero—omitto hostem patriae, ex quo mihi odium in illum commune vobiscum est; sed quo modo aspiciam mihi uni crudelissimum hostem, ut declarant eius de me acerbissimae contiones? Adeone me ferreum putatis, ut cum eo congredi aut

[1] C. here proceeds to give the opinion of A.'s partisans as to the proposed envoys, as being favourable or not to A.

[2] *i.e.* those whom A.'s partisans did not object to.

but also against his abettors and agents in crime, both those here and those with him, in a word against the whole house of Marcus Antonius. Accordingly, just as disloyal citizens were alert and joyful at the prospect of peace, and were congratulating one another as if they had conquered, so they protested against my being an envoy as being prejudiced; they complained of me;[1] they also distrusted Servilius; they remembered that by his votes Antonius had been pierced as with stabs; that Lucius Caesar, though a brave and steadfast Senator, was nevertheless his uncle; that Calenus was his agent; that Piso was his intimate friend; you yourself, Pansa, though a most energetic and valiant consul, they already think inclined to leniency; not that it is or can be so, but your mention of peace has created a suspicion in many that your mind has changed. That I should be thrown among these persons[2] the friends of Antonius take hardly; and we must humour them, now we have once begun to be obliging. VIII. Let the envoys set out with the best of omens, but let those set out at whom Antonius may not be offended.

But if you are not concerned about Antonius, you ought, Conscript Fathers, at least to consider me. At any rate spare my eyes, and make some allowance for a just grief. For with what countenance shall I be able to look upon—I say not the enemy of the country: my hatred to him on that account is common to you as well—but how shall I look on him who is my particular cruel enemy, as his most bitter harangues about me declare? Do you think me so made of iron that I can meet or

illum aspicere possim, qui nuper, cum in contione donaret eos, qui ei de parricidis audacissimi videbantur, mea bona donare se dixit Petusio Urbinati, qui ex naufragio luculenti patrimonii ad haec
20 Antoniana saxa proiectus est? An L. Antonium aspicere potero, cuius ego crudelitatem effugere non potuissem, nisi me moenibus et portis et studio municipii mei defendissem? Atque idem hic myrmillo Asiaticus, latro Italiae, collega Lentonis et Nuculae, cum Aquilae primi pili nummos aureos daret, de meis bonis se dare dixit; si enim de suis dixisset, ne Aquilam quidem ipsum crediturum putavit. Non ferent, inquam, oculi Saxam, Cafonem, non duo praetores, non tribunum plebis, non duo designatos tribunos, non Bestiam, non Trebellium, non T. Plancum. Non possum animo aequo videre tot tam importunos, tam sceleratos hostes; nec id fit fastidio meo, sed caritate rei publicae.

21 Sed vincam animum mihique imperabo, dolorem iustissimum, si non potuero frangere, occultabo. Quid? vitae censetisne, patres conscripti, habendam mihi aliquam esse rationem? quae mihi quidem minime cara est, praesertim cum Dolabella fecerit, ut optanda mors esset, modo sine cruciatu atque tormentis; vobis tamen et populo Romano vilis meus spiritus esse non debet. Is enim sum, nisi me forte fallo, qui vigiliis, curis, sententiis, periculis etiam, quae plurima adii propter acerbissimum omnium in me odium impiorum, perfecerim, ut non obstarem

[1] The allusion is unknown. [2] L. Ant.: cf. n. 1, p. 276.

[3] In the septemvirate: cf. *Phil.* xi. 6. 13.

[4] Perhaps Censorinus (*Phil.* xi. 5) and P. Ventidius Bassus (*Phil.* xiii. 2).

[5] Tullus Hostilius and Insteius; cf. *Phil.* xiii. 12. 26.

[6] Cf. *Phil.* xi. 1. 15.

look on the man who lately at a public meeting, when he was making gifts to those who appeared to him to be the boldest among his band of murderers, said he gave my possessions to Petissius of Urbinum, who, after the wreck of a splendid patrimony, was cast on these Antonian rocks? Shall I be able to look on Lucius Antonius, whose cruelty I could not have escaped had I not defended myself with walls and gates and the zeal of my own borough?[1] And this same Asiatic gladiator,[2] the brigand of Italy, the colleague[3] of Lento and Nucula, when he was giving golden coins to Aquila the centurion, said he gave them as part of my possessions: for had he said he gave them as part of his own he did not think even Aquila would believe him. My eyes, I say, will not endure Saxa, nor Cafo, nor the two praetors,[4] nor the tribune of the commons, nor the two tribunes elect,[5] nor Bestia, nor Trebellius, nor Titus Plancus. I cannot see with equanimity so many savage, wicked enemies, and that not because of any squeamishness on my part, but from love to the State.

But I will control my feelings and command myself; my most just grief, if I cannot crush it, I will conceal. What! Conscript Fathers, do you not think I should take some concern for my life? It is indeed very little dear to me, especially as Dolabella has made death desirable if it be only without tortures and racks[6]; but to you and to the Roman people my life should not be cheap. For I am one, unless perhaps I deceive myself, who, by my vigils, anxieties, votes, aye, and by the many perils I have faced on account of the most bitter hatred towards me of all disloyal men, have

rei publicae, ne quid adrogantius videar dicere.
22 Quod cum ita sit, nihilne mihi de periculo meo cogitandum putatis?

IX. Hic cum essem in urbe ac domi, tamen multa saepe temptata sunt, ubi me non solum amicorum fidelitas, sed etiam universae civitatis oculi custodiunt. Quid censetis, cum iter ingressus ero, longum praesertim, nullasne insidias extimescendas? Tres viae sunt ad Mutinam, quo festinat animus, ut quam primum illud pignus libertatis populi Romani, D. Brutum, aspicere possim, cuius in complexu libenter extremum vitae spiritum ediderim, cum omnes actiones horum mensum, omnes sententiae meae pervenerint ad eum qui mihi fuit propositus exitum.

Tres ergo, ut dixi, viae, a supero mari Flaminia,
23 ab infero Aurelia, media Cassia. Nunc, quaeso, attendite, num aberret a coniectura suspicio periculi mei. Etruriam discriminat Cassia. Scimusne igitur, Pansa, quibus in locis nunc sit Lentonis Caesenni septemviralis auctoritas? Nobiscum nec animo certe est nec corpore. Si autem aut domi est aut non longe a domo, certe in Etruria est, id est in via. Quis igitur mihi praestat Lentonem uno capite esse contentum? Dic mihi praeterea, Pansa, Ventidius ubi sit, cui fui semper amicus, antequam ille rei publicae bonisque omnibus tam aperte est factus inimicus. Possum Cassiam vitare, tenere Flaminiam. Quid? si Anconam, ut dicitur, Ventidius venerit,

[1] The relief of D. Brutus.
[2] L. slew Cn. Pompeius the younger when flying from the battlefield of Munda: Flor. iv. 2, 88.
[3] As to Vent. cf n. 2, p. 600.

contrived not to be harmful to the State—for I would not seem to speak too arrogantly. This being so, do you think I should have no thought of my danger?

IX. Here, while in the city and at my own house, nevertheless many attempts have been made on me, though here not the fidelity of friends alone, but the eyes of the whole community guard me. What think you? that, when I have entered on a journey, most of all a long one, there are no ambushes to be dreaded? There are three ways to Mutina, whither my imagination hastens that I may behold as soon as I can that pledge of the liberty of the Roman people, Decimus Brutus; in whose embrace I would gladly breathe out my latest breath, when all my actions during these past months, when all my proposals have attained that goal which I have set before me.[1]

There are then three ways, as I have said; by the higher sea the Flaminian; by the lower the Aurelian; in the middle the Cassian. Now attend, I pray you, and consider whether my suspicion of danger errs from probability. The Cassian divides Etruria. Do we then know, Pansa, in what districts the authority of Lento Caesennius the septemvir now prevails? He is certainly not with us either in mind or body. But if he is either at home, or not far from home, he is certainly in Etruria, that is, on my road. Who then guarantees me that Lento is content with one victim?[2] Tell me besides, Pansa, where Ventidius[3] is, whose friend I always was before he became so openly unfriendly to the State and all good men. I can avoid the Cassian, and keep to the Flaminian. What then? if Ventidius has gone to Ancona as he is said to have

poterone Ariminum tuto accedere? Restat Aurelia. Hic quidem etiam praesidia habeo; possessiones enim sunt P. Clodi. Tota familia occurret, hospitio invitabit propter familiaritatem notissimam.

24 X. Hisce ego me viis committam, qui Terminalibus nuper in suburbium, ut eodem die reverterer, ire non sum ausus? Domesticis me parietibus vix tueor sine amicorum custodiis. Itaque in urbe, si licebit, manebo. Haec mea sedes est, haec vigilia, haec custodia, hoc praesidium stativum. Teneant alii castra, gerant res bellicas, oderint hostem (nam hoc caput est); nos, ut didicimus semperque fecimus, urbem et res urbanas vobiscum pariter tuebimur. Neque vero recuso munus hoc, quamquam populum Romanum video pro me recusare. Nemo me minus timidus, nemo tamen cautior. Res declarat. Vicesimus annus est, cum omnes scelerati me unum petunt. Itaque ipsi, ne dicam mihi, rei publicae poenas dederunt, me salvum adhuc res publica conservavit sibi. Timide hoc dicam; scio enim quidvis homini accidere posse; verum tamen semel circumsessus lectis valentissimorum hominum viribus cecidi sciens, ut honestissime possem exurgere.

25 Possumne igitur satis videri cautus, satis providus,

[1] This is bitter sarcasm. P. Clodius was in life the enemy of C. and brought about his banishment.

[2] A Roman camp was either temporary or permanent (*castra stativa*). Towns in this country with names ending in "chester" were formerly *stativa*. C. means that in his house he is permanently on guard.

[3] An allusion probably to his exile from Rome in 58 B.C., when he found that the chief men of the State, such as

done shall I be able to reach Ariminum safely? There remains the Aurelian. Here indeed I shall actually have a guard; for here are the lands of Publius Clodius. The whole household will meet me, it will invite me to stay because of our most notorious friendship![1]

X. Shall I entrust myself to these roads who lately at the Terminalia did not dare, though I was to return the same day, to go into the suburbs? Within my own house-walls I protect myself with difficulty without a guard of friends. So, if I may, I will remain in the city. Here is my place; here I keep watch; here I stand sentinel; here I have my fixed garrison.[2] Let other men hold camps, and conduct affairs of war; let them hate their enemy—for that is the chief thing—I, as I do and have always done, will, in conjunction with you, protect the city and the affairs of the city. Not that I refuse this office, although I see the Roman people refuses it on my behalf. No man is less timid than I, yet no man is more cautious. Facts are eloquent. It is now twenty years that every villain makes me his single aim. And so *they* have paid the penalty, I will not say to myself, but to the State; *my* safety the State has up to now ensured to secure its own. Thus much shall I say with some timidity, for I know that to a man anything may happen—yet once when I was beset by a picked force of the most powerful men, I fell purposely that I might be able to rise again with the utmost honour.[3]

Can I then be thought sufficiently cautious,

Pompeius and Caesar, would not protect him against the Tribune P. Clodius. He returned amid acclamations in eighteen months.

si me huic itineri tam infesto tamque periculoso commisero? Gloriam in morte debent ii, qui in re publica versantur, non culpae reprehensionem et stultitiae vituperationem relinquere. Quis bonus non luget mortem Treboni, quis non dolet interitum talis et civis et viri? At sunt, qui dicant (dure illi quidem, sed tamen dicunt) minus dolendum, quod ab homine impuro nefarioque non caverit etenim, qui multorum custodem se profiteatur, eum sapientes sui primum capitis aiunt custodem esse oportere. Cum saeptus sis legibus et iudiciorum metu, non sunt omnia timenda neque ad omnes insidias praesidia quaerenda; quis enim audeat luci, quis in militari via, quis bene comitatum, quis illustrem
26 aggredi? Haec neque hoc tempore neque in me valent. Non modo enim poenam non extimescet, qui mihi vim attulerit, sed etiam gloriam sperabit a latronum gregibus et praemia.

XI. Haec ego in urbe provideo; facilis est circumspectus, unde exeam, quo progrediar, quid ad dexteram, quid ad sinistram sit. Num idem in Appennini tramitibus facere potero? in quibus etiamsi non erunt insidiae, quae facillime esse poterunt, animus tamen erit sollicitus, ut nihil possit de officiis legationis attendere. Sed effugi insidias, perrupi Appenninum; nempe in Antoni congressum colloquiumque veniendum est. Quinam locus capie-

[1] Dolabella: cf. *Phil.* xi. 2.

sufficiently foreseeing, if I entrust myself to this road, so infested as it is and so perilous? Those engaged in public affairs should leave behind them in death a glorious name, not a handle for reproof of their faults and for blame of their folly. What good man does not mourn the death of Trebonius? who does not grieve for the passing of such a citizen and man? But there are some who say—a harsh saying indeed, yet they say it—that we should grieve the less because he was not on his guard against a foul criminal,[1] for wise men say that he who professes to be the guard of many should first of all be the guard of his own life. When you are fenced round by the laws and the awe of the law-courts, one need not be afraid of anything, or look for a guard against every kind of ambush; for who in broad daylight, or on a military road, or when a man was well attended or of high position, would dare to make an attack? But these considerations have no weight at this crisis or in my case. For the man who offers me violence will not only dread no penalty; he will actually hope for honour from gangs of brigands and for rewards.

XI. These things I provide against in the city; I can easily look around me to see from where I am issuing, and where I am proceeding, what is on the right hand, and what upon the left. Shall I be able to do the same in the by-paths of the Apennines, where, even if there are no ambushes—as there may be very easily—yet my mind will be anxious, and so unable to attend to the duties of the embassy? But suppose I have escaped ambushes, have surmounted the Apennines; of course I must meet and speak with Antonius.

tur? Si extra castra, ceteri viderint; ego mortem actutum futuram puto.[1] Novi hominis furorem, novi effrenatam violentiam. Cuius acerbitas morum immanitasque naturae ne vino quidem permixta temperari solet, hic ira dementiaque inflammatus adhibito fratre Lucio, taeterrima belua, numquam profecto a me sacrilegas manus atque impias abstinebit.

27 Memini colloquia et cum acerrimis hostibus et cum gravissime dissidentibus civibus. Cn. Pompeius, Sexti filius, consul me praesente, cum essem tiro in eius exercitu, cum P. Vettio Scatone, duce Marsorum, inter bina castra collocutus est. Quo quidem memini Sex. Pompeium, fratrem consulis, ad colloquium ipsum Roma venire, doctum virum atque sapientem. Quem cum Scato salutasset, "Quem te appellem?" inquit. At ille: "Voluntate hospitem, necessitate hostem." Erat in illo colloquio aequitas; nullus timor, nulla suberat suspicio, mediocre etiam odium; non enim ut eriperent nobis socii civitatem, sed ut in eam reciperentur, petebant. Sulla cum Scipione inter Cales et Teanum, cum alter nobilitatis florem, alter belli socios adhibuisset, de auctoritate senatus, de suffragiis populi, de iure civitatis agentes inter se condiciones contulerunt. Non tenuit omnino colloquium illud fidem, a vi tamen periculoque afuit.

[1]*Ego me vix tutum futurum puto* (Halm).

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[1] Because C. was an augur, a member of a *sacerdotium religiosum et sacrum*: Plin. *Epp.* iv. 8.

[2] One of the leaders of the revolted Italians in the Social War of 90–88 B.C.

[3] The second civil war between Sulla and the popular or Marian party in 83 B.C.

What place will be selected? If one outside the camp, let the others look to themselves; I think my death will be immediate. I know the man's frenzy, I know his unbridled violence. As the bitterness of his character and the savagery of his nature does not usually soften even when tempered with wine, when this man is inflamed with wrath and madness, and his brother Lucius, that most savage beast, stands with him, he will assuredly never keep his sacrilegious[1] and traitorous hands from me.

I remember conferences with the keenest enemies and with the most bitterly antagonistic citizens. Cnaeus Pompeius, the son of Sextus, when I was a raw recruit in his army, held as consul a conference in my presence with Publius Vettius Scato, the Marsian leader,[2] between the two camps. To this conference I remember Sextus Pompeius, the consul's brother, a learned and wise man, coming from Rome. Scato greeted him, and said: "What am I to call you?" He replied, "In feeling a guest, by necessity an enemy." There was in that conference a spirit of fairness; no apprehension, no suspicion underlay the proceedings; even hostility was moderate; for the allies were not seeking to deprive us of our citizenship, but to be admitted to it themselves. Sulla and Scipio, the one with the flower of the nobility, the other with his allies in the war,[3] settled between themselves between Cales and Teanum the laws and conditions on the authority of the Senate, the suffrages of the people, and the right of citizenship. That conference did not altogether maintain good faith; yet it was not marked by violence and danger.

XII. Possumusne igitur in Antoni latrocinio aeque esse tuti? Non possumus, aut, si ceteri possunt,
28 me posse diffido. Quodsi non extra castra congrediemur, quae ad colloquium castra sumentur? In nostra ille numquam veniet, multo minus nos in illius. Reliquum est, ut et accipiantur et remittantur postulata per litteras; ergo erimus in castris. Mea quidem ad omnia postulata una sententia; quam cum hic vobis audientibus dixero, isse et redisse me putatote; legationem confecero. Omnia ad senatum mea sententia reiciam, quaecumque postulabit Antonius. Neque enim licet aliter, neque permissum est nobis ab hoc ordine, ut bellis confectis decem legatis permitti solet more maiorum, neque ulla omnino a senatu mandata accepimus.

Quae cum agam in consilio nullis, ut arbitror, repugnantibus, nonne metuendum est, ne imperita militum multitudo per me pacem distineri putet?
29 Facite hoc meum consilium legiones novas non improbare (nam Martiam et quartam nihil cogitantes praeter dignitatem et decus comprobaturas esse certo scio); quid? veteranos non veremur (nam timeri se ne ipsi quidem volunt), quonam modo accipiant severitatem meam? multa enim falsa de me audierunt, multa ad eos improbi detulerunt. Quorum commoda, ut vos optimi testes estis, semper ego sententia, auctoritate, oratione firmavi; sed

[1] *i.e.* to act as plenipotentiaries.

XII. Can we then amid the brigandage of Antonius be equally safe? We cannot, or, if the others can, I do not believe I can. But if we do not meet outside the camp, what camp shall be selected for the conference? He will never come into ours, much less shall we go into his. It remains that demands should both be received and dispatched by letter; so we shall be in our own camps. My opinion indeed of all his demands is the same, and when I have declared it in your hearing, imagine I have gone and returned: I shall have discharged my embassy. I shall by my vote refer to the Senate all Antonius' demands whatever they may be. For no other procedure is legal, nor have we been commissioned by this our order in the same way as, when wars are ended, ten ambassadors[1] usually are by the custom of our ancestors, nor have we received from the Senate any mandates at all.

And as I shall so act in the conference, with, as I think, no dissent, is it not to be feared that the inexperienced crowd of soldiers may consider that peace is being deferred through me? Assume that the new legions do not disapprove of my policy; for that the Martian and the Fourth legion, which have no object but honour and glory, will approve, I know for certain. What then? As to the veterans—not even they themselves wish to be feared—but are we not apprehensive how they may receive my strictness? for they have heard many false things of me; unscrupulous men have carried to them many stories. Their interests, I, as you are the best witnesses, have always supported by my vote, my authority, and my speeches; but they

credunt improbis, credunt turbulentis, credunt suis. Sunt autem fortes illi quidem, sed propter memoriam rerum, quas gesserunt pro populi Romani libertate et salute rei publicae, nimis feroces et ad suam vim
30 omnia nostra consilia revocantes. Horum ego cogitationem non vereor, impetum pertimesco.

Haec quoque tanta pericula si effugero, satisne tutum reditum putatis fore? Cum enim et vestram auctoritatem meo more defendero et meam fidem rei publicae constantiamque praestitero, tum erunt mihi non ii solum, qui me oderunt, sed illi etiam, qui invident, extimescendi.

Custodiatur igitur vita mea rei publicae eaque, quoad vel dignitas vel natura patietur, patriae reservetur; mors aut necessitatem habeat fati aut, si ante oppetenda est, oppetatur cum gloria. Haec cum ita sint, etsi hanc legationem res publica, ut levissime dicam, non desiderat, tamen, si tuto licebit ire, proficiscar. Omnino, patres conscripti, totum huiusce rei consilium non meo periculo, sed utilitate rei publicae metiar; de qua mihi, quoniam liberum est spatium, multum etiam atque etiam considerandum puto idque potissimum faciendum, quod maxime interesse rei publicae iudicaro.

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[1] *i.e.* not in the ordinary course of Fate, but (as C. says in *Phil.* i. 4), "*praeter naturam praeterque fatum.*"

believe those who are unscrupulous and turbulent, they believe their own party. Now they are no doubt brave men, but by their recollection of their exploits on behalf of the liberty of the Roman people and the safety of the State, they are too high-spirited and apt to refer all our policies to the test of their own violence. I am not afraid of their thoughts, I dread their impulses.

And if, too, I escape these considerable dangers, do you think my return will be fully safe? For when I, after my wont, have defended your authority, and maintained my own good faith and steadfastness towards the State, then not only those that hate me, but those too that envy me, are to be dreaded.

Let my life then be guarded for the State, and let it be preserved, so far as honour or nature shall allow, for my country; let death either follow the inevitable decree of Fate, or if it must be met before,[1] let it be met with glory. This being so, although the State—to say the least—does not require this embassy, yet, if I can go safely, I will set out. In all things, Conscript Fathers, I will gauge the whole policy of this matter, not by my own danger, but by the advantage of the State; and as to that, since there is ample time, I think that much should be taken into consideration again and again; and that particular course adopted which I shall judge to be most of all in the interest of the State.

INTRODUCTION TO PHILIPPIC XIII

Early in April letters advocating peace were received by the Senate from Plancus, the governor of Transalpine Gaul, and from Lepidus, the governor of Hither Spain. The letter of Plancus is to be found in *Epp. ad Fam.* 10. 8; but that of Lepidus has not survived. Thereupon the Consul Pansa, having left for the seat of war to join his colleague Hirtius, Cornutus, the City Praetor, about the 9th summoned the Senate to the Temple of Jupiter to consider the letters. The letter of Plancus was taken first, but, because of some religious informality, the debate was adjourned to the following day. On that day Cicero proposed a vote of thanks to Plancus, and would have carried it had not Titius the tribune, at the request of Servilius, interposed his veto. On the next day, however, Cicero appears to have carried his motion.

On a subsequent day Servilius proposed a vote of thanks to Lepidus, adding, however, a recommendation to him to leave the question of peace to the Senate, which required Antonius first to lay down his arms. This was carried. In support Cicero delivered the thirteenth Philippic.

At this juncture Antonius had written an insolent letter to Hirtius and Caesar, which the former had transmitted to Cicero. In this letter Antonius enumerated all his grievances. He exulted in the death of Trebonius, and resented the decree declaring Dolabella a public enemy. He affirmed his

allegiance to the Caesarean party, and his determination to avenge the death of Caesar. He attacked Cicero, sneered at the younger Caesar as "a boy," and at the Senate as a mere Pompeian camp.

The greater part of Cicero's speech consists of a minute criticism in violent terms of Antonius' letter, clause by clause. Other parts contain savage attacks on Antonius, and on his followers, whom the orator names and stigmatises. There is also a lengthy appeal to Lepidus.[1] The orator concludes by moving the addition of a rider to Servilius' motion, viz. a commendation of Sextus Pompeius [2] for his offer to the Senate and Roman people of the assistance of the troops under his command.

[1] As to whom, see n. 3, p. 254, and n. 2, p. 550.

[2] After the battle of Pharsalia and the death of his father S. fled to Spain. The battle of Munda in March 45 and the death of his brother Cnaeus having left him the last survivor of the Pompeian leaders, he fled to the North of Spain and "put himself at the head of roving bands of natives who refused subjection to the Roman power." By about the middle of the year 44 the whole of the Iberian peninsula was in his hands. Lepidus, at the instigation of Ant., succeeded in making a composition between him and the Republic on the terms of his being indemnified for the loss of his father's property.

M. TULLI CICERONIS IN M. ANTONIUM ORATIO PHILIPPICA TERTIA DECIMA

1 I. A principio huius belli, patres conscripti, quod cum impiis civibus consceleratisque suscepimus, timui, ne condicio insidiosa pacis libertatis reciperandae studia restingueret. Dulce enim etiam nomen est pacis, res vero ipsa cum iucunda, tum salutaris. Nam nec privatos focos nec publicas leges videtur nec libertatis iura cara habere, quem discordiae, quem caedes civium, quem bellum civile delectat, eumque ex numero hominum eiciendum, ex finibus humanae naturae exterminandum puto. Itaque, sive Sulla sive Marius sive uterque sive Octavius sive Cinna sive iterum Sulla sive alter Marius et Carbo sive qui alius civile bellum optavit, eum detestabilem civem
2 rei publicae natum iudico. Nam quid ego de proximo dicam, cuius acta defendimus, actorem ipsum iure caesum fatemur? Nihil igitur hoc cive, nihil hoc homine taetrius, si aut civis aut homo habendus est, qui civile bellum concupiscit.

Sed hoc primum videndum est, patres conscripti, cum omnibusne pax esse possit, an sit aliquod bellum inexpiabile, in quo pactio pacis lex sit servitutis. Pacem cum Scipione Sulla sive faciebat sive simulabat, non erat desperandum, si convenisset, fore

[1] Caesar.

THE THIRTEENTH PHILIPPIC OF M. TULLIUS CICERO AGAINST M. ANTONIUS

From the beginning of this war, Conscript Fathers, which we have undertaken against disloyal and abandoned citizens, I have feared lest some insidious negotiation for peace should quench our zeal for the recovery of liberty. For the very name of peace allures, while peace itself brings not only delight but safety. Now it seems to me that a man does not hold dear our private hearths, or the public laws, or the rights of liberty, who delights in discord, in massacres of citizens, in civil war; that man should, I think, be ejected from the ranks of his fellows, and banished from the confines of human nature. Therefore, whether it were Sulla or Marius, or both of them, or Octavius, or Cinna, or Sulla again, or the other Marius and Carbo, or any other who has desired civil war, that man I account a citizen born to be held accursed by the State. For why should I speak of the last of them,[1] whose acts we defend while we confess their author himself was justly slain? There is then nothing fouler than such a citizen, than such a man, if we can regard either as a citizen or as a man one who desires civil war.

But we must consider this first, Conscript Fathers, whether peace is possible with all men, or whether there is a sort of war that is inexpiable, in which an agreement for peace is a law sanctioning slavery. Peace with Scipio Sulla either made or pretended to make; but there were no grounds for despair of an

aliquem tolerabilem statum civitatis. Cinna si concordiam cum Octavio confirmare voluisset, hominum in re publica sanitas remanere potuisset. Proximo bello si aliquid de summa gravitate Pompeius, multum de cupiditate Caesar remisisset, et pacem stabilem et aliquam rem publicam nobis habere licuisset.

II. Hoc vero quid est? cum Antoniis pax potest esse, cum Censorino, Ventidio, Trebellio, Bestia, Nucula, Munatio, Lentone, Saxa? Exempli causa paucos nominavi; genus infinitum immanitatemque
3 ipsi cernitis reliquorum. Addite illa naufragia Caesaris amicorum, Barbas Cassios, Barbatios, Polliones; addite Antoni conlusores et sodales, Eutrapelum, Melam, Pontium, Coelium, Crassicium, Tironem, Mustelam, Petusium; comitatum relinquo, duces nomino. Huc accedunt Alaudae ceterique veterani, seminarium iudicum decuriae tertiae, qui suis rebus exhaustis, beneficiis Caesaris devoratis, fortunas nostras concupiverunt.

4 O fidam dexteram Antoni, qua ille plurimos cives trucidavit, o ratum religiosumque foedus, quod cum Antoniis fecerimus! Hoc si Marcus violare conabitur, Luci eum sanctitas a scelere revocabit! Illis locus si in hac urbe fuerit, ipsi urbi locus non erit. Ora vobis eorum ponite ante oculos, et maxime Antoniorum, incessum, aspectum, vultum, spiritum,

[1] P. Voluminius E., the former protector of the mime Cytheris: cf. *Phil.* ii. 24.

[2] See n. 1, p. 40.

[3] As proposed by Antonius: cf. *Phil.* i. 8.

endurable political condition if they had agreed on terms. If Cinna had been willing to establish harmony with Octavius, the condition of men in the State might have remained healthy. In the last war, if Pompeius had relaxed somewhat of his inflexibility, and Caesar much of his cupidity, we should have been permitted to possess a stable peace, and some remnants of a commonwealth.

II. But what is the present position? can there be peace with the Antonii? with Censorinus, Ventidius, Trebellius, Bestia, Nucula, Munatius, Lento, Saxa? I have named a few by way of illustration; you yourselves see the countless numbers and the savagery of the rest. Add to these those wrecks among Caesar's friends, the Barbae Cassii, Barbatii, Pollios; add Antonius' fellow-gamblers and comrades, Eutrapelus,[1] Mela, Pontius, Coelius, Crassicius, Tiro, Mustela, Petissius; their following I disregard; I name the leaders. With these must be classed the legion of the Larks[2] and the rest of the veterans, a nursery for jurymen of the third panel,[3] who, now their own property is exhausted and Caesar's bounties are devoured, have become covetous of our fortunes.

O trusty right hand of Antonius with which he has butchered many citizens! O ratified and sanctified treaty which we shall make with the Antonii! If Marcus shall attempt to violate it the conscientiousness of Lucius will call him back from the crime! If there shall be place in this city for those men there will be no place for the city itself. Set before your eyes their faces, especially those of the Antonii, their gait, their look, their countenances, their

latera tegentes alios, alios praegredientes amicos. Quem vini anhelitum, quas contumelias fore censetis minasque verborum! Nisi forte eos pax ipsa leniet, maximeque, cum in hunc ordinem venerint, salutabunt benigne, comiter appellabunt unum quemque nostrum!

5 III. Non recordamini, per deos immortales, quas in eos sententias dixeritis? Acta M. Antoni rescidistis, leges refixistis, per vim et contra auspicia latas decrevistis, totius Italiae dilectus excitavistis, collegam et scelerum socium omnium hostem iudicavistis. Cum hoc quae pax potest esse? Hostis si esset externus, id ipsum vix talibus factis, sed posset aliquo modo. Maria, montes, regionum magnitudines interessent; odisses eum, quem non videres. Hi in oculis haerebunt et, cum licebit, in faucibus; quibus enim saeptis tam immanis beluas continebimus?

At incertus exitus belli. Est omnino fortium virorum, quales vos esse debetis, virtutem praestare (tantum enim possunt), fortunae culpam non ex-
6 timescere. Sed quoniam ab hoc ordine non fortitudo solum, verum etiam sapientia postulatur (quamquam vix videntur haec posse seiungi, seiungamus tamen), fortitudo dimicare iubet, iustum odium incendit, ad confligendum impellit, vocat ad periculum. Quid Sapientia? Cautioribus utitur consiliis, in posterum providet, est omni ratione tectior. Quid igitur

[1] Dolabella.

[2] And remain at peace with him. This is impossible if A. be at Rome.

demeanour, of their friends some walking by their side, some walking in front. What a reek of wine, what insults and threatening speech think you will come from them? But perhaps the very fact of peace will appease them, and in particular, when they enter this assembly, they will greet us kindly, and courteously address each one of us!

III. By the immortal Gods! do you not recall what resolutions you have passed against those men? You have rescinded the acts of Marcus Antonius; you have annulled his laws; you have decided they had been proposed by violence and in defiance of the auspices; you have set afoot levies through the whole of Italy; his colleague and partner [1] in all crimes you have adjudged an enemy. With this man what peace is possible? Were he a foreign enemy, it could hardly be after such treatment, yet it might somehow. Seas, mountains, wide regions would intervene; you might hate a man you did not see.[2] These men will fasten themselves upon your eyes, and—when once they get the power—upon your throats; for in what pens shall we confine such savage beasts?

But, it may be said, the issues of war are uncertain. It is surely the part of brave men, as you should be, to display courage—for that much they can do—and not to dread the whims of fortune. But since from this our order not merely fortitude, but also wisdom, is required—though these qualities seem scarcely severable, yet let us sever them—fortitude bids us fight, it kindles a righteous hatred, it urges us to the conflict, it calls us to the peril. What says Wisdom? She employs more cautious counsels, she looks to the future, she is in every respect more guarded.

censet? parendum est enim atque id optimum iudicandum, quod sit sapientissime constitutum. Si hoc praecipit, ne quid vita existimem antiquius, ne decernam capitis periculo, fugiam omne discrimen, quaeram ex ea: "Etiamne, si erit, cum id fecero, serviendum?" Si annuerit, ne ego Sapientiam istam, quamvis sit erudita, non audiam. Sin responderit: "Tu vero ita vitam corpusque servato,[1] ita fortunas, ita rem familiarem, ut haec libertate posteriora ducas itaque his uti velis, si libera re publica possis, nec pro his libertatem, sed pro libertate haec proicias tamquam pignora iniuriae": tum Sapientiae vocem audire videar eique ut deo paream.
7 Itaque, si receptis illis esse possumus liberi, vincamus odium pacemque patiamur; sin otium incolumibus iis esse nullum potest, laetemur decertandi oblatam esse fortunam. Aut enim interfectis illis fruemur victrice re publica aut oppressi (quod omen avertat Iuppiter!) si non spiritu, at virtutis laude vivemus.

IV. At enim nos M. Lepidus, imperator iterum, pontifex maximus, optime proximo civili bello de re publica meritus, ad pacem adhortatur. Nullius apud me, patres conscripti, auctoritas maior est quam M. Lepidi, vel propter ipsius virtutem vel

[1] *Tu vero vitam* (Vat.). The other MSS. add *servato* after *corpusque*.

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[1] King explains that possessions are a guarantee by Fortune that the owner will suffer wrong from tyrants.

[2] His military exploits were in fact poor, and did not justify his assumption of the title "twice imperator," though he called himself so in his letters to C. (*ad Fam.* x. 34, 35). The title of Imperator was, however, conferred upon him by

What then is her opinion? for we must obey, and regard that conclusion as best that is founded most on Wisdom's precepts. If this be her precept, that I should think nothing of more consequence than my life, should not contend at the peril of my life, should avoid all risk, I will ask her: "Even when, if I do so, I must be a slave?" If she say "Aye," verily to that Wisdom, however learned she may be, I will not hearken. But if she shall reply: "Nay, do thou guard thy life and person, thy fortunes, thy private possessions, but only as ranking them after liberty, and only as desiring their enjoyment if it can be had in a free State, and not sacrificing liberty for these, but for the sake of liberty flinging them away as if they were very guarantees of injustice,"[1]—then should I seem to hear the voice of Wisdom, and would obey her as a God. Therefore if, when these men are taken back, we can be free, let us overcome our hatred and put up with peace; but if with these men unpunished no quiet is possible, let us rejoice that a chance of fighting them has been offered. For we shall either by their deaths enjoy a victorious State; or, if we are crushed—may Jupiter avert the omen!—we shall live, if not with the breath of life, at least with the fame of our virtue.

IV. But, it will be said, Marcus Lepidus, who has been twice an Imperator, who is Pontifex Maximus, and in the last civil war deserved well of the State, exhorts us to peace.[2] No man's influence, Conscript Fathers, is greater with me than that of Marcus Lepidus, whether on account of his owns merits or

the Senate for his reconcilement of S. Pompeius to the State: cf. *Phil.* v. 15; see n. 3, p. 254.

propter familiae dignitatem. Accedunt eodem multa privata magna eius in me merita, mea quaedam officia in illum. Maximum vero eius beneficium numero, quod hoc animo in rem publicam est, quae
8 mihi vita mea semper fuit carior. Nam cum Magnum Pompeium, clarissimum adulescentem, praestantissimi viri filium, auctoritate adduxit ad pacem remque publicam sine armis maximo civilis belli periculo liberavit, tum me eius beneficio plus quam pro virili parte obligatum puto. Itaque et honores ei decrevi, quos potui amplissimos, in quibus mihi vos estis adsensi, nec umquam de illo et sperare optime et loqui destiti. Magnis et multis pignoribus M. Lepidum res publica inligatum tenet. Summa nobilitas est, omnes honores, amplissimum sacerdotium, plurima urbis ornamenta, ipsius, fratris maiorumque monimenta, probatissima uxor, optatissimi liberi, res familiaris cum ampla, tum casta a cruore civili. Nemo ab eo civis violatus, multi eius beneficio et misericordia liberati. Talis igitur vir et civis opinione labi potest, voluntate a re publica dissidere nullo pacto potest.

9 Pacem vult M. Lepidus. Praeclare, si talem potest efficere, qualem nuper effecit; qua pace Cn. Pompei filium res publica aspiciet suoque sinu conplexuque recipiet neque solum illum, sed cum illo

on account of the dignity of his family. To these reasons may be added many great private kindnesses on his part towards me, and some services on my part towards him. But I count it the greatest benefit of all that he entertains his present feelings towards the State, which has been always dearer to me than my life. For when by his influence he induced Pompeius Magnus, a most noble youth, the son of a most eminent father, to make peace, and without a conflict freed the State from the utmost peril of civil war, then I think by this benefit he held me bound in an obligation even greater than my utmost ability can fulfil. Accordingly, I proposed for him the fullest honours I could, and you agreed with me; and I have never ceased to have and to express the best hopes of him. The State holds Marcus Lepidus bound by many great pledges. His birth is of the noblest, there are all his honours, his most distinguished priesthood, his own numerous embellishments of the city, and the monuments of his brother and of his ancestors, a most respected wife, children most to his desire, a private fortune not only ample but pure of the stain of civil bloodshed. No citizen has been injured by him, many by his kindness and pity have been made free. Such a man, then, and citizen may make a slip in judgment; in inclination he cannot in any way be at variance with the State.

Marcus Lepidus wishes for peace. Admirable! if he can bring about such a peace as he lately brought about, under which peace the State will again see the son of Cnaeus Pompeius, and will welcome him back to her bosom and embrace, accounting it a restoration not only of him but of her

se ipsam sibi restitutam putabit. Haec causa fuit, cur decerneretis statuam in rostris cum inscriptione praeclara, cur absenti triumphum. Quamquam enim magnas res bellicas gesserat et triumpho dignas, non erat tamen ei tribuendum, quod nec L. Aemilio nec Aemiliano Scipioni nec superiori Africano nec Mario nec Pompeio, qui maiora bella gesserunt, sed quod silentio bellum civile confecerat, cum primum licuit honores in eum maximos contulistis.

10 V. Existimasne igitur, M. Lepide, qualem Pompeium res publica habitura sit civem, tales futuros in re publica Antonios? In altero pudor, gravitas, moderatio, integritas, in illis (et cum hos compello, praetereo animo ex grege latrocinii neminem) libidines, scelera, ad omne facinus immanis audacia. Deinde vos obsecro, patres conscripti, quis hoc vestrum non videt, quod Fortuna ipsa, quae dicitur caeca, vidit? Salvis enim actis Caesaris, quae concordiae causa defendimus, Pompeio sua domus patebit, eamque non minoris, quam emit Antonius, redimet, redimet, inquam, Cn. Pompei domum filius. O rem acerbam! Sed haec satis diu multumque defleta sunt. Decrevistis tantam pecuniam Pompeio, quantam ex bonis patriis in praedae dissipatione
11 inimicus victor redegisset. Sed hanc mihi dispensationem pro paterna necessitudine et coniunctione

[1] Cf. *Phil.* v. 15.

[2] *i.e.* of a statue.

[3] C. seems to mean that the purchase by S. Pompeius, with the aid of Fortune, of his father's house out of the State indemnity is not an infringement of Caesar's "act" in confiscating it at first. The house is not lost to Sext.

own self. This was the reason why you voted him a statue on the rostra with an honourable inscription,[1] and a triumph in his absence. For although he had done in war great things and deserving a triumph, yet a grant[2] could not be made to him which was not made either to Lucius Aemilius or Scipio Aemilianus, or to the elder Africanus, or to Marius, or Pompeius, who had conducted greater wars; but because he had quietly brought to an end a civil war, the first moment you were able, you conferred on him the greatest honours.

V. Do you think then, Marcus Lepidus, that the Antonii will be in the State such citizens as the State is likely to find Pompeius? In the one is modesty, firmness, moderation, integrity; in them—and when I denounce them, I pass over in my mind no one of that gang of brigands—lust, crime, and an immeasurable audacity in working any wickedness. In the next place, Conscript Fathers, which of you, I entreat you, does not see what Fortune herself, though she is called blind, has seen? For without prejudice to the acts of Caesar, which for the sake of peace we defend, his own house will be open to Pompeius, and he will buy it back at a price not less than Antonius bought it for; the house, I say, of Cnaeus Pompeius his son will buy back.[3] A bitter fact! But these things have been bewailed long enough and fully. You have voted to Pompeius a sum[4] as great as a conquering enemy would have realised from his father's goods in a partition of booty. But, having regard to my friendship and connection with his father, this disposal of the sum I claim for myself.

[4] Fifty million Attic drachmae, about £2,000,000: App. iii. 4. This was voted on Ant.'s motion (Dio 45. 10).

deposco. Redimet hortos, aedes, urbana quaedam, quae possidet Antonius; nam argentum, vestem, supellectilem, vinum amittet aequo animo, quae ille helluo dissipavit. Albanum, Formianum a Dolabella recuperabit, etiam ab Antonio Tusculanum, iique, qui nunc Mutinam oppugnant, D. Brutum obsident, de Falerno Anseres depellantur. Sunt alii plures fortasse, sed de mea memoria dilabuntur. Ego etiam eos dico, qui hostium numero non sunt, Pompeianas possessiones, quanti emerint, filio reddituros.
12 Satis inconsiderati fuit, ne dicam audacis, rem ullam ex illis attingere; retinere vero quis poterit clarissimo domino restituto? An is non reddet, qui domini patrimonium circumplexus quasi thesaurum draco, Pompei servus, libertus Caesaris, agri Lucani possessiones occupavit? Atque illud septiens miliens, quod adulescenti, patres conscripti, spopondistis, ita discribetur, ut videatur a vobis Cn. Pompei filius in patrimonio suo collocatus.

Haec senatus; reliqua populus Romanus in ea familia, quam vidit amplissimam, persequetur. In primis paternum auguratus locum, in quem ego eum, ut, quod a patre accepi, filio reddam, mea nominatione cooptabo. Utrum igitur augurem Iovis

[1] As to these, cf. *Phil.* ii. 27.

[2] An allusion to a second-rate poet, Anser, whom Virgil perhaps referred to in *Ecl.* 9. 35: *inter strepere anser olores.*

[3] Probably Demetrius, whose insolence and wealth are mentioned in Plut. *Pomp.* 40, and *Cat. Min.* 13.

[4] £5,600,000. But see n. 4 on previous page. The reading here may be *bis miliens.*

[5] By the Lex Domitia of 104 B.C., and Lex Atia of 63 B.C., the College of Augurs nominated two candidates, of whom one was selected by 17 (chosen by lot) out of the 35 Roman tribes: cf. Ramsay's *R. Ant.* 16th ed., p. 377, and Cic. *De Lege Agr.* 2. 7.

He will buy back his pleasure-grounds, his house, and certain urban properties, which Antonius holds; for the silver-plate, the garments, the furniture and the wine, which that glutton has squandered,[1] he will be content to lose. The Alban and Formian estates he will recover from Dolabella; also from Antonius the Tusculan; and let those who are now attacking Mutina and besieging Decimus Brutus—let the Ansers[2] be driven out of the Falernian. There are others, perhaps, but they slip from my memory. I say too that those who are not of the number of our enemies will restore to the son the possessions of Pompeius at the price they gave. It was inconsiderate enough, not to say audacious, to lay hands on anything out of that property; but who will be bold enough to retain it when its noble master is restored? Or will not that fellow restore it, he who embracing the patrimony of his master, as a dragon does a treasure, the slave of Pompeius,[3] the freedman of Caesar, has taken possession of the estates in Lucania? And that sum of seven hundred million sesterces[4] which you, Conscript Fathers, have promised the young man will be so allotted as to make the son of Cnaeus Pompeius appear to have been settled in his patrimony by you.

So far the Senate; the rest the Roman people will carry out in the case of a family it has marked as the worthiest. First it will give him, in the place of his father, the augurship to which, that I may return to the son what I received from the father, I will nominate him as a colleague.[5] Which of the two then shall we the more willingly sanction

optimi maximi, cuius interpretes internuntiique constituti sumus, nos, utrum populus Romanus libentius sanciet, Pompeiumne an Antonium? Mihi quidem numine deorum immortalium videtur hoc Fortuna voluisse, ut actis Caesaris firmis ac ratis Cn. Pompei filius posset et dignitatem et fortunas patrias recuperare.

13 VI. Ac ne illud quidem silentio, patres conscripti, praetereundum puto, quod clarissimi viri legati, L. Paulus, Q. Thermus, C. Fannius, quorum habetis cognitam voluntatem in rem publicam, eamque perpetuam atque constantem, nuntiant se Pompei conveniundi causa devertisse Massiliam eumque cognovisse paratissimo animo, ut cum suis copiis iret ad Mutinam, ni vereretur, ne veteranorum animos offenderet. Est vero eius patris filius, qui sapienter faciebat non minus multa quam fortiter; itaque intellegitis et animum ei praesto fuisse nec consilium defuisse.

Atque etiam hoc M. Lepido providendum est, ne quid arrogantius, quam eius mores ferunt, facere
14 videatur. Si enim nos exercitu terret, non meminit illum exercitum senatus populique Romani atque universae rei publicae esse, non suum. "At uti potest pro suo." Quid tum? omniane bonis viris, quae facere possunt, facienda sunt, etiamne, si turpia, si perniciosa erunt, si facere omnino non licebit? Quid autem turpius aut foedius aut quod minus deceat quam contra senatum, contra cives, contra patriam exercitum ducere? quid vero magis

[1] Of Caesar, the opponent of Pompeius the father.

as augur of Jupiter the Best and Greatest of Gods, whose interpreters and messengers we are? which of the two will the Roman people? Pompeius or Antonius? To me indeed it seems that, by the inspiration of the immortal Gods, Fortune has determined that, in spite of our confirmation and ratification of the acts of Caesar, the son of Cnaeus Pompeius should be able to recover his dignity and the fortune of his father.

VI. And there is something else, Conscript Fathers, which I do not think I should pass over in silence, the fact that those illustrious envoys, Lucius Paulus, Quintus Thermus, and Caius Fannius, whose unremitting and steadfast good will towards the State you have realised, announce that they turned aside to Massilia in order to meet Pompeius, and recognised that he was most ready to go to Mutina with his forces, but feared to offend the veterans.[1] But he is the son of a father who achieved much with wisdom no less than with bravery; so you understand he was ready in spirit, and not wanting in judgment.

And Marcus Lepidus should see to it, too, that he does not appear to act with greater assumption than befits his character. For if he scare us with an army he does not bear in mind that that army belongs to the Senate and the Roman people, indeed to the whole State, and is not his own. "But he can use it as his own." What then? are good men to do everything they have the power to do, even if those things are base, are pernicious? even if it will be altogether unlawful? And what can be baser, or fouler, or less decent than to march an army against the Senate, against fellow-citizens, against one's country?

vituperandum quam id facere, quod non liceat? Licet autem nemini contra patriam ducere exercitum, siquidem licere id dicimus, quod legibus, quod more maiorum institutisque conceditur. Neque enim, quod quisque potest, id ei licet, nec, si non obstatur, propterea etiam permittitur. Tibi enim exercitum, Lepide, tam quam maioribus tuis patria pro se dedit. Hoc tu arcebis hostem, fines imperii propagabis; senatui populoque Romano parebis, si quam ad aliam rem te forte traduxerit.

15 VII. Haec si cogitas, es M. Lepidus, pontifex maximus, M. Lepidi, pontificis maximi, pronepos; sin hominibus tantum licere iudicas, quantum possunt, vide, ne alienis exemplis, iisque recentibus, uti quam et antiquis et domesticis malle videare. Quodsi auctoritatem interponis sine armis, magis equidem laudo, sed vide, ne hoc ipsum non sit necesse. Quamquam enim est tanta in te auctoritas, quanta debet in homine nobilissimo, tamen senatus se ipse non contemnit nec vero fuit umquam gravior, constantior, fortior. Incensi omnes rapimur ad libertatem recuperandam; non potest ullius auctoritate tantus senatus populique Romani ardor extingui; odimus, irati pugnamus; extorqueri e manibus arma non possunt; receptui signum aut revocationem a bello audire non possumus; speramus

[1] Adapted from Lucilius (*Odi hominem, iratus pugno*), also cited in *Tusc.* iv. 21.

what in truth is more blameworthy than to do what is unlawful? Now it is not lawful for any man to march an army against his country; if by "lawful" we mean what is allowed by the law, and the customs and institutions of our ancestors. For what a man can do is not necessarily lawful, nor, if there be no prohibition, is it therefore also permitted. For to you, Lepidus, as to your ancestors, your country gave an army on her own behalf. With this you will resist an enemy, will extend the frontiers of our rule; the Senate and the Roman people you will obey, if they shall happen to transfer you to some other task.

VII. If you think of these things, you are Marcus Lepidus, Pontifex Maximus, the great-grandson of Marcus Lepidus, Pontifex Maximus; but if you consider that what is lawful for men is measured by their power, beware of seeming to prefer to follow precedents foreign to your family, and those new ones, rather than those which are both ancient and of your own household. But if you interpose your authority without resort to arms, I do indeed praise you the more; but consider whether doing so is not itself unnecessary. For although there resides in you an authority as great as a man of very noble birth should have, yet the Senate does not despise itself, and never in truth has it been more dignified, more steadfast, more courageous. We are all of us carried along by a fiery zeal to recover our liberty; by no man's authority can such ardour of Senate and Roman people be quenched; "we hate; we fight in our wrath";[1] our arms cannot be wrested from our hands; no note of retreat or of recall from war can we hear; we hope for the best; even the utmost

optima, pati vel difficillima malumus quam servire.
16 Caesar confecit invictum exercitum; duo fortissimi consules adsunt cum copiis; L. Planci, consulis designati, varia et magna auxilia non desunt; in D. Bruti salute certatur; unus furiosus gladiator cum taeterrimorum latronum manu contra patriam, contra deos penates, contra aras et focos, contra quattuor consules gerit bellum. Huic cedamus, huius condiciones audiamus, cum hoc pacem fieri posse credamus?

VIII. At periculum est, ne opprimamur. Non metuo, ne is, qui suis amplissimis fortunis nisi bonis salvis frui non potest, prodat salutem suam. Bonos cives primum natura efficit, adiuvat deinde fortuna; omnibus enim bonis expedit salvam esse rem pu-
17 blicam; sed in iis, qui fortunati sunt, magis id apparet. Quis fortunatior Lepido, ut ante dixi, quis eodem sanior? Vidit eius maestitiam atque lacrimas populus Romanus Lupercalibus, vidit, quam abiectus, quam confectus esset, cum Caesari diadema imponens Antonius servum se illius quam collegam esse malebat. Qui si reliquis flagitiis et sceleribus se abstinere potuisset, tamen unum ob hoc factum dignum illum omni poena putarem. Nam, si ipse servire poterat, nobis dominum cur imponebat? et, si eius pueritia pertulerat libidines eorum, qui erant in eum tyranni, etiamne in nostros liberos dominum et tyrannum comparabat? Itaque illo interfecto,

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[1] Hirtius and Pansa, the consuls of the year, and L Plancus and D. Brutus, consuls elect.
[2] If L. were to join Antonius, as he in fact ultimately did. In all this appeal Cic. shows his real distrust of L.
[3] Cf. *Phil.* ii. 18.

hardship we prefer to suffer rather than be slaves. Caesar has got together an unbeaten army; two most valiant consuls are present with their forces; the various and large reinforcements of Lucius Plancus, the consul-elect, are not wanting; the contest centres in the safety of Decimus Brutus; a single maddened gladiator with a gang of most savage brigands is waging war against his country, against our Household Gods, against our altars and hearths, against four[1] consuls. Are we to yield to this man? is it to this man's conditions we are to listen? is it with this man we are to believe peace is possible?

VIII. But there is a risk of our being crushed.[2] I am not afraid that a man who cannot enjoy his most ample fortune except with the safety of good men should betray his own safety. Nature in the first place makes good citizens, in the next, Fortune helps them; for it is the interest of all good men that the State should be safe; but it is in those that are fortunate this is more apparent. Who is more fortunate than Lepidus, as I have said before? who is also of sounder principles? His sadness and his tears the Roman people saw at the Lupercalia; it saw how cast down, how overcome he was, when Antonius, by placing a diadem on Caesar's head, chose to be that man's slave rather than his colleague. Had he been able to refrain from all his other outrages and crimes, yet, on account of this action alone, I should think him worthy of any punishment. For if he himself could endure slavery, why was he setting a master over us? and if his boyhood had suffered the lusts of those that were tyrants over him,[3] was he also to set up over our children a master and a tyrant? And so when

qualem in nos eum esse voluit, talis ipse in ceteros extitit.

18 Qua enim in barbaria quisquam tam taeter, tam crudelis tyrannus quam in hac urbe armis barbarorum stipatus Antonius? Caesare dominante veniebamus in senatum, si non libere, at tamen tuto; hoc archipirata (quid enim dicam tyranno?) haec subsellia ab Ityraeis occupabantur. Prorupit subito Brundisium, ut inde agmine quadrato ad urbem accederet; lautissimum oppidum nunc municipum honestissimorum, quondam colonorum, Suessam, fortissimorum militum sanguine implevit; Brundisii in sinu non modo avarissimae, sed etiam crudelissimae uxoris delectos Martiae legionis centuriones trucidavit. Inde se quo furore, quo ardore ad urbem, id est ad caedem optimi cuiusque, rapiebat! Quo tempore di ipsi immortales praesidium improvisum nec opinantibus nobis obtulerunt.

19 IX. Caesaris enim incredibilis ac divina virtus latronis impetus crudelis ac furibundos retardavit; quem tum ille demens laedere se putabat edictis ignorans, quaecumque falso diceret in sanctissimum adulescentem, ea vere recidere in memoriam pueritiae suae. Ingressus urbem est quo comitatu vel potius agmine, cum dextra, sinistra gemente populo Romano minaretur dominis, notaret domos, divisurum se urbem palam suis polliceretur! Rediit

Caesar was slain, he showed himself towards the rest of the world as he wished Caesar to be towards us.

For in what barbarous country was there ever any tyrant as savage, as cruel as, in this city, when fenced by the arms of barbarians, was Antonius? Whilst Caesar was master we used to come into the Senate, if not as free men, at least in safety; under this arch-pirate—for why should I call him merely a tyrant?—these benches were occupied by Ituraeans. He burst out suddenly to Brundisium that he might from thence reach the city in battle-array; Suessa, a most splendid town, now inhabited by the honestest of burghers, but formerly by colonists, he drenched with the blood of most valiant soldiers; at Brundisium, in the very lap of his wife, a woman not only most avaricious but also most cruel, he butchered picked centurions of the Martian legion. From that place in what a frenzy, with what eagerness, did he hurry to our city, that is, to the slaughter of every patriot! At which time the immortal Gods themselves accorded us, though we did not expect it, unlooked-for protection.

IX. For it was the incredible and Heaven-inspired valour of Caesar that stayed the cruel and maddened attacks of a brigand—of Caesar whom that madman then thought he was hurting by edicts, not realising that whatever false charges he was aiming at that most modest of young men in truth recoiled on the memory of his own boyhood. He entered the city, and with what a following, or rather line of battle! when, amid the groans on right and left of the Roman people, he threatened householders, marked their houses, and openly promised to portion out the city among his supporters. He returned to

ad milites; ibi pestifera illa Tiburi contio. Inde ad urbem cursus, senatus in Capitolium, parata de circumscribendo adulescente sententia consularis, cum repente (nam Martiam legionem Albae consedisse sciebat) adfertur ei de quarta nuntius. Quo perculsus abiecit consilium referendi ad senatum de Caesare; egressus est non viis, sed tramitibus paludatus eoque ipso die innumerabilia senatus consulta fecit, quae quidem omnia citius delata quam scripta
20 sunt. Ex eo non iter, sed cursus et fuga in Galliam. Caesarem sequi arbitrabatur cum legione Martia, cum quarta, cum veteranis, quorum ille nomen prae metu ferre non poterat, eique in Galliam penetranti D. se Brutus obiecit, qui se totius belli fluctibus circumiri quam illum aut regredi aut progredi maluit, Mutinamque illi exultanti tamquam frenos furoris iniecit. Quam cum operibus munitionibusque saepsisset nec eum coloniae florentissimae dignitas neque consulis designati maiestas a parricidio deterreret, tum me (testor et vos et populum Romanum et omnes deos, qui huic urbi praesident) invito et repugnante legati missi tres consulares ad latronum et gladiatorum ducem.

21 Quis tam barbarus umquam, tam immanis, tam ferus? Non audivit, non respondit, neque eos solum praesentes, sed multo magis nos, a quibus illi erant

[1] Cf. *Phil.* iii. 8. He had intended to impeach Caesar Octavianus in the Senate.

his soldiers: then followed that pestilent harangue at Tibur. After that came the race to the city; the summoning of the Senate to the Capitol; a motion by a consul was prepared for hampering the young man;[1] when suddenly—for he knew the Martian legion had halted at Alba—news is brought him of the Fourth. Dumbfounded by this, he abandoned his design of referring Caesar's case to the Senate; he went off, not by main roads, but by by-paths in his general's garb, and that very day he concocted innumerable decrees of the Senate, yes! and all of them were recorded faster than they were drafted! From that time it was not a march, but a race and flight into Gaul. He thought Caesar was following him with the Martian legion, with the Fourth, and with the veterans, whose name he could not endure for fright, and, as he was penetrating into Gaul, Decimus Brutus threw himself in his path, preferring to be surrounded with all the waves of war than that Antonius should retire or advance, and set Mutina on his prancing as a kind of bit for his frenzy. And when he had fenced in the city with works and entrenchments, and when neither the dignity of a most prosperous colony nor the majesty of a consul-elect deterred him from his treason, then—I call you and the Roman people to witness, and all the Gods who preside over this city—against my will and in spite of my protest three consular envoys were sent to a leader of brigands and gladiators.

Who was ever so barbarous, so cruel, so savage, so ferocious? He did not listen; he sent no reply; he scorned and set at nought, not only those who were present, but much more us by whom those

missi, sprevit et pro nihilo putavit. Postea quod scelus, quod facinus parricida non edidit? Circumsedet colonos nostros, exercitum populi Romani, imperatorem consulem designatum; agros divexat civium optimorum; hostis taeterrimus omnibus bonis cruces ac tormenta minitatur. Cum hoc, M. Lepide, pax esse quae potest? cuius ne supplicio quidem ullo satiari videtur posse populus Romanus.

22 X. Quodsi quis dubitare adhuc potuit, quin nulla societas huic ordini populoque Romano cum illa importunissima belua posset esse, desinat profecto dubitare his cognitis litteris, quas mihi missas ab Hirtio consule modo accepi. Eas dum recito dumque de singulis sententiis breviter disputo, velim, patres conscripti, ut adhuc fecistis, me attente audiatis.

"Antonius Hirtio et Caesari."

Neque se imperatorem neque Hirtium consulem nec pro praetore Caesarem. Satis hoc quidem scite; deponere alienum nomen ipse maluit quam illis suum reddere.

"Cognita morte C. Treboni non plus gavisus sum, quam dolui."

Videte, quid se gavisum, quid doluisse dicat; facilius de pace deliberabitis.

"Dedisse poenas sceleratum cineri atque ossibus clarissimi viri et apparuisse numen deorum intra finem anni vertentis aut iam soluto supplicio parricidii aut impendente laetandum est."

[1] Julius Caesar.

envoys had been sent. Afterwards, what crime, what villainy is there the traitor did not perpetrate? He is besieging our colonists, an army of the Roman people, a general, a consul-elect; he is wasting the lands of loyal citizens; a most hideous enemy is threatening all good men with crucifixion and racks. With this man, Marcus Lepidus, what peace is possible, when it seems that no possible punishment of him can satisfy the Roman people?

X. But if any man has so far been capable of a doubt whether any communion of this our order and the Roman people with that most outrageous beast can possibly exist, let him assuredly cease to doubt when he has heard this letter which I have just received from Hirtius the consul. While I read it, and briefly comment on it clause by clause, I beg you, Conscript Fathers, as you have hitherto done, to hear me with attention.

"Antonius to Hirtius and Caesar."

He neither calls himself a general, nor Hirtius a consul, nor Caesar a propraetor. That is clever enough: he preferred himself to lay down a name that was not his than to give them their own.

"When I heard of the death of Caius Trebonius, my joy was not greater than my grief."

See what he says is the cause of his joy, and what of his grief: your decision on the question of peace will be easier.

"That a criminal has paid the penalty to the ashes and bones of a most illustrious man,[1] and that the power of the Gods has been revealed before the end of the year, the punishment for murder being either already inflicted or impending, is matter for rejoicing."

O Spartace! quem enim te potius appellem, cuius propter nefanda scelera tolerabilis videtur Catilina? laetandum esse ausus es scribere Trebonium dedisse poenas? sceleratum Trebonium? quo scelere, nisi quod te Idibus Martiis a debita tibi peste seduxit?
23 Age, hoc laetaris; videamus, quid moleste feras.

"Iudicatum hoc tempore hostem Dolabellam eo, quod sicarium occiderit, et videri cariorem populo Romano filium scurrae quam C. Caesarem, patriae parentem, ingemiscendum est."

Quid ingemiscis hostem iudicatum Dolabellam? Quid? te non intellegis dilectu tota Italia habito, consulibus missis, Caesare ornato, sagis denique sumptis hostem iudicatum? Quid est autem, scelerate, quod gemas hostem Dolabellam iudicatum a senatu? quem tu ordinem omnino esse nullum putas, sed eam tibi causam belli gerendi proponis, ut senatum funditus deleas, reliqui boni et locupletes omnes summum ordinem subsequantur. At scurrae filium appellat; quasi vero ignotus nobis fuerit splendidus eques Romanus Treboni pater. Is autem humilitatem despicere audet cuiusquam, qui ex Fadia sustulerit liberos?

24 XI. "Acerbissimum vero est te, A. Hirti, ornatum beneficiis Caesaris et talem ab eo relictum, qualem ipse miraris,"—

[1] The leader of the revolted gladiators in the Servile war of 73–71 B.C.: cf. *Phil.* iii. 8, and iv. 6.

[2] T. prevented A. entering the Senate on the day of Caesar's assassination.

[3] Trebonius.

What a Spartacus![1] for by what fitter name should I call you? a man whose atrocious crimes make Catilina appear tolerable; have you dared to write that we should rejoice that Trebonius has paid the penalty? that Trebonius is a criminal? for what crime except that on the Ides of March[2] he withdrew you from the destruction you deserved? Come, you rejoice at this: let us see at what you are annoyed.

"That Dolabella has at this crisis been adjudged an enemy for killing an assassin, and that the son[3] of a buffoon seems dearer to the Roman people than Caius Caesar, the father of his country, is matter for lament."

Why do you lament that Dolabella has been adjudged an enemy? What! do you not understand that by the levy held all over Italy, by the despatch of the Consuls, by the honouring of Caesar, finally by the assumption of military garb, *you* have been adjudged an enemy? And what cause, you criminal, have you to groan that Dolabella has been adjudged an enemy by the Senate, when *you* hold that order as altogether of no account, but set before yourself as a ground for waging war the utter destruction of the Senate, and the inclusion of all other good men and all wealthy men in the fate of the supreme order. But he calls Trebonius the son of a buffoon; as if in fact that eminent Roman knight were unknown to us, the father of Trebonius! And does he dare, who has acknowledged children by Fadia, to despise the low birth of anyone?

XI. "But the bitterest thing is that you, Aulus Hirtius, though you have been distinguished by Caesar's benefits, and left by him in a position in which you wonder at yourself——"

Equidem negare non possum a Caesare Hirtium ornatum, sed illa ornamenta in virtute et industria posita lucent. Tu vero, qui te ab eodem Caesare ornatum negare non potes, quid esses, si tibi ille non tam multa tribuisset? ecquo te tua virtus provexisset? ecquo genus? In lustris, popinis, alea, vino tempus aetatis omne consumpsisses, ut faciebas, cum in gremiis mimarum mentum mentemque[1] deponeres.

"Et te, o puer,"—

Puerum appellat, quem non modo virum, sed etiam fortissimum virum sensit et sentiet. Est istuc quidem nomen aetatis, sed ab eo minime usurpandum, qui suam amentiam puero huic praebet ad gloriam.

25 "Qui omnia nomini debes,"—

Debet vero solvitque praeclare. Si enim ille patriae parens, ut tu appellas (ego quid sentiam, videro), cur non hic parens verior, a quo certe vitam habemus e tuis facinerosissimis manibus ereptam?

"Id agere, ut iure damnatus sit Dolabella,"—

Turpem vero actionem, qua defenditur amplissimi auctoritas ordinis contra crudelissimi gladiatoris amentiam!

"Et ut venefica haec liberetur obsidione,"—

[1] So Halm; *mentem mentumque* (MSS.).

[1] The play on *mentum mentemque* seems hardly translateable.

I certainly cannot deny that Hirtius was distinguished by Caesar, but those distinctions, when set on virtue and energy, have lustre. But you, who cannot deny you were distinguished by the same Caesar, what would you be if he had not bestowed so much on you? Would your merit have elevated you on to any height? would your birth? You would have wasted every day of your life in brothels, in cookshops, in gambling, in drinking, as you used to do when you deposited your beard —and your wits—in the bosoms of your actresses.[1]

"And you, O boy——"

He calls him a boy whom he has felt, and shall feel, to be not only a man, but a very brave man too. That name indeed belongs to his age, but it is one not to be employed by a man who bestows his own madness on this boy as material for glory.

"You who owe everything to a name——"

He owes certainly, and discharges the debt nobly. For if Caesar were the father of his country, as *you* name him—my sentiments I will reserve—why is this youth not more truly her father from whom we certainly receive our lives rescued from your most criminal hands?

"That you should strive to show that Dolabella was rightly condemned!"

Verily a base action, by which the authority of a most distinguished order is defended against the madness of a most cruel gladiator!

"And that this she-poisoner[2] should be liberated from a siege."

[2] D. Brutus. "*Venefica*" has no special meaning, being merely a term of abuse, the feminine gender being added by way of contempt: cf. Ter. *Eun.* 5. 1. 9.

Veneficam audes appellare eum virum, qui tuis veneficiis remedia invenit? quem ita obsides, nove Hannibal, aut si quis acutior imperator fuit, ut te ipse obsideas neque te istinc, si cupias, possis explicare. Recesseris, undique omnes insequentur; manseris haerebis. Nimirum recte veneficam appellas, a quo tibi praesentem pestem vides comparatam.

"Ut quam potentissimus sit Cassius atque Brutus."
26 Putes Censorinum dicere aut Ventidium aut etiam ipsos Antonios. Cur autem nolint potentes esse non modo optimos et nobilissimos viros, sed secum etiam in rei publicae defensione coniunctos?

"Nimirum eodem modo haec adspicitis, ut priora." Quae tandem? "Castra Pompei senatum appellabatis."

XII. An vero tua castra potius senatum appellaremus? in quibus tu es videlicet consularis, cuius totus consulatus est ex omni monimentorum memoria evulsus; duo praetores sine causa diffisi se aliquid habituros (nos enim Caesaris beneficia defendimus); praetorii Philadelphus Annius et innocens Gallius, aedilicii corycus laterum et vocis meae, Bestia, et fidei patronus, fraudator creditorum, Trebellius, et homo diruptus dirutusque, Q. Coelius, columenque amicorum Antoni, Cotyla Varius, quem Antonius

[1] An allusion to the way in which Hannibal was checked by Fabius Maximus Cunctator.
[2] As to V., cf. n. 2, p. 600.
[3] Hirtius and Pansa, to whom the letter is addressed.
[4] T. Annius Cimber, who slew his brother: cf. *Phil.* xi. 6.
[5] The allusion is unknown.
[6] C. had defended him six times: cf. *Phil.* xi. 5.
[7] Cf. *Phil.* vi. 4. 5.
[8] Cf. n. 1, p. 260.

Do you dare to call the man a she-poisoner who has discovered a remedy for your poisonings? whom, you new Hannibal (or any other cleverer general), you are besieging so as really to be besieging yourself, without the power, if you wished, of extricating yourself from that position?[1] Supposing you retreat, all forces will follow you up on all sides; supposing you remain where you are, you will be caught. Assuredly you rightly call a she-poisoner the man by whom you see your present ruin has been brought about.

"That you should strive that Cassius and Brutus may be as powerful as possible."

You would imagine he was speaking of Censorinus, or Ventidius,[2] or even the Antonii themselves! And why should they begrudge power to men who are not only most loyal and noble, but also allied with them in the defence of the State?

"Truly you[3] regard these things as you did the former" (what things, pray?): "you used to call the camp of Pompeius the Senate."

XII. Should we rather call your camp the Senate? where there is yourself, manifestly a consular, when your consulship has been utterly torn out of every recording register; there are two praetors who doubted whether they would get anything—a groundless doubt, for we uphold the benefactions of Caesar; former praetors, Philadelphus[4] Annius and the innocent[5] Gallius; former aediles, that boxer's dummy on which I tried my lungs and voice,[6] Bestia, and that patron of good faith and swindler of his creditors, Trebellius,[7] and that ruptured and ruined Quintus Caelius, and the prop of the friends of Antonius, Cotyla Varius,[8] whom Antonius by way of

deliciarum causa loris in convivio caedi iubebat a servis publicis. Septemvirales Lento, Nucula; tum deliciae atque amores populi Romani, L. Antonius; tribuni primum duo designati, Tullus Hostilius, qui suo iure in porta nomen inscripsit, qua, cum prodere imperatorem suum non potuisset, reliquit; alter est designatus Insteius nescio qui, fortis, ut aiunt, latro, quem tamen temperantem fuisse ferunt Pisauri
27 balneatorem. Secuntur alii tribunicii, T. Plancus in primis, qui si senatum dilexisset, numquam curiam incendisset. Quo scelere damnatus in eam urbem rediit armis, ex qua excesserat legibus. Sed hoc ei commune cum plurimis sui simillimus. Illud tamen mirum, quod in hoc Planco proverbii loco dici solet, perire eum non posse, nisi ei crura fracta essent. Fracta sunt, et vivit. Hoc tamen, ut alia multa, Aquilae referatur acceptum.

XIII. Est etiam ibi Decius ab illis, ut opinor, Muribus Deciis, itaque Caesaris munera rosit. Deciorum quidem multo intervallo per hunc praeclarum virum memoria renovata est. Saxam vero Decidium praeterire qui possum, hominem deductum ex ultimis gentibus, ut eum tribunum pl. videremus,

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[1] The commission to assign public lands among the veterans: cf. *Phil.* vi. 5 and xi. 6.

[2] The patron of the Roman tribes: cf. *Phil.* vi. 5.

[3] An unknown allusion. Perhaps he escaped by a Porta Hostilia, and so gave a new significance to the name. So King suggests.

[4] Said παρὰ προσδοκίαν. Some such word as "vinum" would have been expected.

[5] Tribune of the Commons in 52 B.C., and chief mover of the riot (in which the Senate-house was burnt) that followed the funeral of C.'s enemy, P. Clodius; cf. n. 3, p. 324.

sport at an entertainment ordered to be lashed by public slaves! Of the septemvirate[1] are Lento and Nucula; then there is the pet and darling of the Roman people, Lucius Antonius;[2] as tribunes, first of all the two tribunes-elect, Tullus Hostilius, who with good right inscribed his name on the gate by which, when he could not betray him, he abandoned his general;[3] the other tribune-elect is one Insteius, a bold brigand, they say, though they report that at Pisaurum he was a temperate man—as a mixer of bath-water.[4] Other former tribunes there are too, Titus Plancus especially, who if he had loved the Senate, never would have burned the Senate-house.[5] Condemned for that crime, he returned in arms to the city whence he had been expelled by the laws. But this feature is common to him and most of those like him. But one thing surprises me, which in the case of this Plancus is generally said, as it were proverbially, that he cannot die unless his legs have been broken.[6] They have been broken, and he lives. But this, and many other things, must be put down to Aquila's credit.[7]

XIII. Decius is also there, sprung, I suppose, from the Decii called Mures;[8] accordingly he nibbled Caesar's gifts. The memory of the Decii has indeed been renewed after a long interval through this illustrious man! But how can I pass over Saxa Decidius, a fellow fetched from the remotest nations that we might see as tribune of the commons a

[6] *i.e.* unless he has been crucified: cf. N.T. St. John xix. 31. As we say of a man "he is born to be hanged."

[7] Who drove him out of Pollentia *crure fracto*: cf. *Phil.* xi. 6

[8] *Mures* = mice. Mus was a family name of the Decian gens. As to the ancestor alluded to, cf. *Phil.* xi. 6.

28 quem civem numquam videramus? Est ibidem alter Saserna; sed omnes tamen tantam habent similitudinem inter se, ut in eorum praenominibus errem. Nec vero Extitius, Philadelphi frater, quaestor, praetermittendus est, ne, si de clarissimo adulescente siluero, invidisse videar Antonio. Est etiam Asinius quidam, senator voluntarius lectus ipse a se; apertam curiam vidit post Caesaris mortem, mutavit calceos pater conscriptus repente factus est. Non novi Sex. Albesium, sed tamen neminem tam maledicum offendi, qui illum negaret dignum Antoni senatu.

Arbitror me aliquos praeterisse; de iis tamen, qui occurrebant, tacere non potui. Hoc igitur fretus senatu Pompeianum senatum despicit, in quo decem fuimus consulares; qui si omnes viverent, bellum omnino hoc non fuisset; auctoritati cessisset audacia.
29 Sed quantum praesidii fuerit in ceteris, hinc intellegi potest, quod ego unus relictus ex multis contudi et fregi adiuvantibus vobis exultantis praedonis audaciam.

XIV. Quodsi non Fortuna nobis modo eripuisset Ser. Sulpicium eiusque collegam ante, M. Marcellum, (quos cives, quos viros!) si duos consules amicissimos patriae simul ex Italia eiectos, si L. Afranium, summum ducem, si P. Lentulum, civem cum in ceteris rebus, tum in salute mea singularem, si *M.* Bibulum, cuius est in rem publicam semper merito laudata

[1] Senators wore a special shoe with a crescent attached.

[2] As to Sulp. see *Phil.* ix. C.'s description of some of the others is highly coloured. For example, Afranius (a Pompeian who surrendered to J. Caesar at Ilerda in Spain) was an incompetent general; and Domitius (an ancestor of the Emperor Nero) was a man of unexampled perfidy and ferocity.

man we had never seen as a citizen? In the same place is one of the Sasernas; but they all of them have such a common likeness that I may mistake their first names. And certainly Extitius, the brother of Philadelphus, the quaestor, must not be omitted; else, if I say nothing of so noble a youth, I should appear to be envying Antonius his possession. There is also a certain Asinius, a volunteer Senator, chosen by himself: he saw the Senate-house open after Caesar's death; he changed his shoes,[1] and suddenly became a Conscript Father. I don't know Sextus Albesius, but I never met anyone so slanderous as to say he was unworthy of Antonius' Senate.

I think I have passed over some; but concerning those that occurred to me I could not be silent. This then is the Senate on which he relies and despises Pompeius' Senate in which we were ten consulars; were they all living, this war would not have arisen at all; audacity would have yielded to authority. But what a protection the others would have been you can understand from this: I, the only one left of many, crushed and broke with your assistance the audacity of an exulting robber.

XIV. But if Fortune had only not robbed us of Servius Sulpicius,[2] and before that of his colleague Marcus Marcellus—and what citizens, what men were they!—if the State had been able to keep the two consuls, warm lovers of their country, who were together expelled from Italy; or Lucius Afranius, that consummate general; or Publius Lentulus, a citizen of singular worth in other ways but especially in securing my recall; or Marcus Bibulus, whose steadfast devotion to the State has ever been justly

constantia, si L. Domitium, praestantissimum civem, si Appium Claudium pari nobilitate et voluntate praeditum, si P. Scipionem, clarissimum virum maiorumque suorum simillimum, res publica tenere potuisset, certe iis consularibus non esset Pompeianus
30 despiciendus senatus. Utrum igitur aequius, utrum melius rei publicae fuit Cn. Pompeium an sectorem Cn. Pompei vivere, Antonium? Qui vero praetorii! quorum princeps M. Cato idemque omnium gentium virtute princeps. Quid reliquos clarissimos viros commemorem? Nostis omnes. Magis vereor, ne longum me in enumerando quam ne ingratum in praetereundo putetis. Qui aedilicii, qui tribunicii, qui quaestorii! Quid multa? talis senatorum et dignitas et multitudo fuit, ut magna excusatione opus iis sit, qui in illa castra non venerunt. Nunc reliqua attendite.

XV. "Victum Ciceronem ducem habuistis."

Eo libentius "ducem" audio, quod certe ille dicit invitus; nam de "victo" nihil laboro. Fatum enim meum est sine re publica nec vinci posse nec vincere.

"Macedoniam munitis exercitibus."

Et quidem fratri tuo, qui a vobis nihil degenerat, extorsimus.

"Africam commisistis Varo bis capto."

Hic cum Gaio fratre putat se litigare.

"In Syriam Cassium misistis."

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[1] A sneer at C.'s banishment.

[2] Caesar captured him at Corfinium, and afterwards in Africa.

extolled; or Lucius Domitius, a most distinguished citizen; or Appius Claudius, a man as eminent for noble birth as for loyalty; or Publius Scipio, a man of great distinction and most resembling his ancestors—assuredly with those consulars the Senate of Pompeius would not have been despicable. Which then was fairer, which better for the State, that Pompeius should be living, or the purchaser of Pompeius' confiscated goods, Antonius? But what men the former praetors were! the chief of them was Marcus Cato, the chief too in virtue among all nations. Why should I mention the rest of those most illustrious men? You know them all. I am more afraid of your thinking me tedious in enumerating them than of your thinking me ungrateful in passing them over. What ex-aediles there were! what ex-tribunes! what ex-quaestors! Why say more? The dignity and the number of the Senators was such that those who did not come into that camp had need of a strong excuse. Now attend to the rest of his letter.

XV. "You have had the vanquished[1] Cicero for your general."

I hear the word "general" the more gladly because he certainly says it unwillingly; for as to the word "vanquished" I care nothing. For it is my destiny that apart from the State I cannot be vanquished or vanquish.

"You are fortifying Macedonia with garrisons."

Yes, and we have wrested it from your brother, no degenerate from your family.

"Africa you have entrusted to Varus, a man twice[2] a captive."

He thinks he is arguing with his brother Caius!

"You have sent Cassius into Syria."

Non igitur sentis huic causae orbem terrae patere, te extra munitiones tuas, vestigium ubi imprimas, non habere?

31 "Cascam tribunatum gerere passi estis."

Quid ergo? ut Marullum, ut Caesetium a re publica removeremus eum, per quem, ut neque hoc idem posthac neque multa eius modi accidere possent, consecuti sumus?

"Vectigalia Iuliana Lupercis ademistis."

Lupercorum mentionem facere audet neque illius diei memoriam perhorrescit, quo ausus est obrutus vino, unguentis oblitus, nudus gementem populum Romanum ad servitutem cohortari?

"Veteranorum colonias deductas lege et senatus consulto sustulistis."

Nos sustulimus an contra legem comitiis centuriatis latam sanximus? Vide, ne tu veteranos tamen eos, qui erant perditi, perdideris in eumque locum deduxeris, ex quo ipsi iam sentiunt se numquam exituros.

32 "Massiliensibus iure belli adempta reddituros vos pollicemini."

Nihil disputo de iure belli (magis facilis disputatio est quam necessaria); illud tamen animadvertite, patres conscripti, quam sit huic rei publicae natus hostis Antonius, qui tanto opere eam civitatem oderit, quam scit huic rei publicae semper fuisse amicissimam.

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[1] Servilius C. one of Caesar's assassins.

[2] Two tribunes expelled by Caesar from the Senate for tearing down the crowns hung on C.'s statues: cf. Shak. *J.C.* I. i. 73.

[3] When he attempted to put a crown on Caesar's head at the Lupercalia; cf. *Phil.* ii. 34.

[4] C. uses advisedly the word *deducere*, the technical term for the planting of a colony.

Do you not then feel that the world lies open to our cause, and that you have nowhere outside your lines to plant your foot?

"You have allowed Casca[1] to hold the tribuneship."

What then? Were we to expel from the State, like a Marullus, a Caesetius,[2] a man through whose aid we have secured the impossibility of the same treatment, and many things of the same kind, ever happening afterwards?

"You have taken from the Luperci the Julian revenues."

Does he dare to mention the Luperci? and not shudder at the recollection of that day[3] when, drenched with wine, smeared with unguents, naked, he dared, amid their groans, to urge the Roman people to be slaves?

"You have taken away the veterans' colonies, though planted by law and by decree of the Senate."

Did we take them away, or on the other hand ratify a law passed at the Comitia Centuriata? Yet consider whether it is not you that have ruined these veterans who had been ruined, and planted[4] them in a position from which they themselves already feel they will never escape.

"You are promising to restore to the Massilians what has been taken from them by the laws of war."[5]

I do not argue as to the laws of war—the argument is more easy than necessary; but notice this point, Conscript Fathers, what a born enemy to this State Antonius is; who so bitterly hates that community which he knows has been always most friendly to this State.

[5] They had been reduced by Caesar: cf. *Phil.* viii. 6.

XVI. "Neminem Pompeianum, qui vivat, teneri lege Hirtia dictitatis."[1]

Quis, quaeso, iam legis Hirtiae mentionem facit? cuius non minus arbitror latorem ipsum quam eos, de quibus lata est, paenitere. Omnino mea quidem sententia legem illam appellare fas non est, et, ut sit lex, non debemus illam Hirti legem putare.

"Apuleiana pecunia Brutum subornastis."

Quid? si omnibus suis copiis excellentem virum res publica armasset, quem tandem bonum paeniteret? Nec enim sine pecunia exercitum alere nec sine exercitu fratrem tuum capere potuisset.

33 "Securi percussos Petraeum et Menedemum, civitate donatos et hospites Caesaris, laudastis."

Non laudavimus, quod ne audivimus quidem. Valde enim nobis in tanta perturbatione rei publicae de duobus nequissimis Graeculis cogitandum fuit.

"Theopompum nudum expulsum a Trebonio confugere Alexandriam neglexistis."

Magnum crimen senatus! De Theopompo, summo homine, neglesimus; qui ubi terrarum sit, quid agat, vivat denique an mortuus sit, quis aut scit aut curat?

"Ser. Galbam eodem pugione succinctum in castris videtis."

Nihil tibi de Galba respondeo, fortissimo et constantissimo civi; coram aderit, praesens tibi et ipse et ille, quem insimulas, pugio respondebit.

[1] *Dignitatis* (MSS.); *dictitatis* (Orelli); *an nescitis neminem tenere dignitates* (Naugerius).

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[1] This may have been a law penalising the Pompeians. But its provisions are unknown.

[2] Who handed over to M. Brutus in Macedonia the moneys he had collected as quaestor: cf. *Phil.* x. 11.

[3] Which he had used against Caesar, under whom he had served in the Gallic War.

XVI. "You repeat that no surviving adherent of Pompeius is bound by the Hirtian law."[1]

Who, I ask, now mentions the Hirtian law? a law, I think, the proposer himself regrets no less than those against whom it was passed. In my opinion, indeed, it is not right to call it a law at all; and, even if it be a law, we ought not to regard it as a law of Hirtius.

"You supplied Brutus with the money of Apuleius."[2]

Well? If the State had armed an excellent man with all its forces, what good man, pray, would regret it? For without money he could not have supported an army, or without an army have taken your brother.

"You approved of the execution of Petraeus and Menedemus, men who had been given the citizenship, and guest-friends of Caesar."

We did not approve what we had never even heard of. Assuredly in such disorder of public affairs we ought to have given serious attention to two most rascally Greeklings!

"You did not care that Theopompus was stripped and driven out by Trebonius, and took refuge in Alexandria."

A heavy charge against the Senate! We were careless about Theopompus, that eminent man, about whom, as to where in the world he is, what he is doing, in a word, whether he is alive or dead, who either knows or cares?

"You look on Servius Galba in the camp girt with the identical dagger."[3]

I make you no reply as to Galba, a most brave and steadfast citizen; he will be present himself, and that dagger you reproach him with will reply to you.

"Milites aut meos aut veteranos contraxistis tamquam ad exitium eorum, qui Caesarem occiderant, et eosdem nec opinantes ad quaestoris sui aut imperatoris aut commilitonum suorum pericula impulistis."

Scilicet verba dedimus, decepimus! ignorabat legio Martia, quarta, nesciebant veterani, quid ageretur; non illi senatus auctoritatem, non libertatem populi sequebantur; Caesaris mortem ulcisci volebant, quam omnes fatalem fuisse arbitrabantur; te videlicet salvum, beatum, florentem esse cupiebant!

34 XVII. O miser cum re, tum hoc ipso, quod non sentis, quam miser sis! Sed maximum crimen audite.

"Denique quid non aut probastis aut fecistis, quod faciat, si reviviscat,"—

Quis? credo enim, adferet aliquod scelerati hominis exemplum.

"Cn. Pompeius ipse"—

O nos turpes, siquidem Cn. Pompeium imitati sumus!

"Aut filius eius, si domi esse possit?"

Poterit, mihi crede; nam paucis diebus et in domum et in hortos paternos immigrabit.

"Postremo negatis pacem fieri posse, nisi aut emisero Brutum aut frumento iuvero."

Alii istuc negant; ego vero, ne si ista quidem feceris, umquam tecum pacem huic civitati futuram puto.

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[1] The Fourth and the Martian legions which deserted A. Cf. *Phil.* x. 10.

[2] A. himself.

[3] S. Pompeius had in July 44 made an offer of accommodation with the Republic, but conditional on his being restored to his father's house: *ad Att.* 16, 4.

"You have enlisted soldiers,[1] either mine or veterans, on the plea that it was for the destruction of Caesar's murderers; and then these same soldiers you have set on unexpectedly to endanger him[2] who had been their quaestor, or their general, or those who had been their own fellow-soldiers."

Of course we cajoled, we deceived them! the Martian legion, the Fourth were ignorant men! the veterans did not know what was being done! they were not supporting the authority of the Senate, the liberty of the Roman people! they wished to avenge the death of Caesar, which all men deemed decreed by destiny; it was you, no doubt, they were anxious should be safe, happy, and prosperous!

XVII. O wretched man, not only from your situation, but especially in not feeling how wretched you are! But listen to the greatest charge.

"In short, what is there you have not approved or done, which, should he come to life again, would be done by——"

By whom? for I suppose he will bring forward the instance of some rascal.

"Cnaeus Pompeius himself——"

Oh, how base we are if we have indeed copied Cnaeus Pompeius!

"Or his son, should he be able to live at home."

He will be able, believe me; for in a few days he will remove into his father's house and pleasure-grounds.[3]

"Lastly, you say peace is impossible unless I either let out Brutus or supply him with corn."

Others say so; but I think that, even if you do what you say, there will never be peace between you and the State.

"Quid? hoc placetne veteranis istis, quibus adhuc omnia integra sunt?"

Nihil vidi tam integrum, quam ut oppugnare imperatorem incipiant, quem tanto studio consensuque offenderint.

35 "Quamquam vos eos adsentationibus et venenatis muneribus venistis depravatum."[1]

Itane corrupti sunt, quibus persuasum sit foedissimum hostem iustissimo bello persequi?

"At militibus inclusis opem fertis. Nihil moror eos salvos esse et ire quo lubet, si tantum modo patiuntur perire eum, qui meruit."

Quam benigne! Denique usi liberalitate Antoni milites imperatorem reliquerunt et se ad hostem metu perterriti contulerunt; per quos si non stetisset, non Dolabella prius imperatori suo quam Antonius etiam collegae parentasset.

36 "Concordiae factam esse mentionem scribitis in senatu et legatos esse consulares quinque. Difficile est credere eos, qui me praecipitem egerint aequissimas condiciones ferentem et tamen ex iis aliquid remittere cogitantem, putare aliquid moderate aut humane esse facturos. Vix etiam veri simile est, qui iudicaverint hostem Dolabellam ob rectissimum facinus, eosdem nobis parcere posse idem sentientibus."

Parumne videtur omnium facinorum sibi cum Dolabella societatem initam confiteri? Nonne cer-

[1] The text is Madvig's reading, followed by Kayser. Halm reads *quoniam* for *quamquam*.

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[1] A. seems to mean that so far the veterans had not committed themselves by an actual attack on him.

[2] *i.e.* Dolabella's murder of Trebonius to avenge Caesar, his general, would not have come before A.'s murder of

"What! is this the opinion of those veterans of yours to whom all courses are still open?"[1]

I have seen no course so open to them as to begin an attack on the general whom with such zeal and unanimity they have offended.

"Although you have set out to pervert them with flatteries and poisoned gifts."

Are they so corrupted whose resolve it is to pursue a most foul enemy with a most just war?

"But you say you are bringing aid to the besieged soldiers. I do not mind their being safe, and going where they wish, provided only they suffer him to perish who has deserved it."

How kind! In a word it was by the liberality of Antonius that those soldiers deserted their general and betook themselves in a panic to an enemy, though, had it not been for them, Dolabella would not have offered a sacrifice to his general before Antonius too had done so to his colleague.[2]

"You write that mention has been made of peace in the Senate, and that the envoys are five consulars. It is difficult to believe that those who drove me headlong though I was offering most equitable terms—and even so thinking of yielding as to some of them—to imagine they will do anything moderate or humane. It is hardly likely too that those who adjudged Dolabella an enemy on account of a most just deed can at the same time spare me who am of the same sentiments."

Does it seem a small thing that he confesses he has entered into a partnership with Dolabella in all his acts? Do you not see that from the one fount

D. Brutus to avenge Caesar, his colleague in the consulship. As to *parento* cf. n. 1, p. 32.

nitis ex uno fonte omnia scelera manare? Ipse denique fatetur, hoc quidem satis acute, non posse eos, qui hostem Dolabellam iudicaverint "ob rectissimum facinus" (ita enim videtur Antonio), sibi parcere idem sentienti.

37 XVIII. Quid huic facias, qui hoc litteris memoriaeque mandarit, ita sibi convenisse cum Dolabella, ut ille Trebonium et, si posset, etiam Brutum, Cassium discruciatos necaret[1] ** eademque inhiberet supplicia nobis? O conservandus civis cum tam pio iustoque foedere!

Is etiam queritur condiciones suas repudiatas, aequas quidem et verecundas, ut haberet Galliam ultimam aptissimam ad bellum renovandum instruendumque provinciam, ut Alaudae in tertia decuria iudicarent, id est ut perfugium scelerum esset tutum turpissimis rei publicae sordibus, ut acta sua rata essent, cuius nullum remanet consulatus vestigium. Cavebat etiam L. Antonio, qui fuerat aequissimus agri privati et publici decempedator Nucula et Lentone collega.

38 "Quam ob rem vos potius animadvertite, utrum sit elegantius et partibus utilius, Treboni mortem persequi an Caesaris, et utrum sit aequius, concurrere nos, quo facilius reviviscat Pompeianorum causa totiens iugulata, an consentire, ne ludibrio simus inimicis.—"

Si esset iugulata, numquam exurgeret; quod

[1] Some words applying to A. himself seem to have fallen out. The subject of *inhiberet* is Ant., not Dol.

well all the crimes? He himself in fact confesses—and shrewdly enough indeed—that those who declared Dolabella an enemy on account "of a most just deed"—as it seems to Antonius—cannot spare him who has the same sentiment.

XVIII. What would you do with a man who has put to the record of a letter his arrangement with Dolabella that he should slay Trebonius with tortures, and, if he could, Brutus and Cassius too, and that he himself should hold the same punishment over our heads? Oh, a citizen to be preserved along with a treaty so righteous and so just!

He also complains that his terms have been rejected: such fair and modest terms! that he should have Further Gaul, a province most adapted to the renewal and preparation of war; that the Larks should sit as jurymen in the third panel,[1] that is to say, that there should be a safe refuge for crime to the foulest disgrace of the State; that his acts should be ratified although no trace of his consulship remains. He was providing also for Lucius Antonius, that most fair partitioner of private and public land, with Nucula and Lento as colleagues.

"Wherefore do you rather consider which is in better taste and more beneficial to your party, to avenge the death of Trebonius or that of Caesar; and whether it is more fitting that we should join battle so that the cause, so often slaughtered, of the Pompeians should more easily come to life, or should agree together, that we may not be a derision to our enemies.—"[2]

If it had been slaughtered, it would never be

[1] Cf. *Phil.* i. 8.
[2] Cic. and his supporters.

tibi tuisque contingat. "Utrum," inquit, "ele-
gantius"—atqui hoc bello de elegantia quaeritur!—
39 "partibusque utilius." Partes, furiose, dicuntur
in foro, in curia. Bellum contra patriam nefarium suscepisti, oppugnas Mutinam, circumsedes consulem designatum, bellum contra te duo consules gerunt cumque iis pro praetore Caesar, cuncta contra te Italia armata est. Istas tu partes potius quam a populo Romano defectionem vocas? "Treboni mortem an Caesaris persequi." Treboni satis persecuti sumus hoste iudicato Dolabella, Caesaris mors facillime defenditur oblivione et silentio. Sed videte, quid moliatur. Cum mortem Caesaris ulciscendam putat, mortem proponit non iis solum, qui illam rem gesserunt, sed iis etiam, si qui non moleste
40 tulerunt.

XIX. "Quibus, utri nostrum ceciderint, lucro futurum est. Quod spectaculum adhuc ipsa Fortuna vitavit, ne videret unius corporis duas acies lanista Cicerone dimicantes, qui usque eo felix est, ut isdem ornamentis deceperit vos, quibus deceptum Caesarem gloriatus est."

Pergit in me maledicta, quasi vero ei pulcherrime priora processerint; quem ego inustum verissimis maledictorum notis tradam hominum memoriae sempiternae. Ego lanista? Et quidem non insipiens; deteriores enim iugulari cupio, meliores vincere. "Utri ceciderint," scribit, "lucro

[1] A *lanista* was the keeper of a school (*ludus*) where gladiators (called his *familia*) were, by appropriate diet and exercise in their weapons, trained for the public shows.

[2] Cic. and his party.

rising again—and may that be the fate of you and yours! "Which is in better taste?" he says. And so in this war there is a question of taste! "And more beneficial to your party." "Party," you madman, is a word used in the forum, in the Senate-house. It is war, a nefarious war, you have undertaken against your country; you are blockading Mutina; you are besieging a consul-elect; it is war against you two consuls are waging, and with them the propraetor Caesar; all Italy is in arms against you. Do you call that a "party," or rather a revolt from the Roman people? "To avenge the death of Trebonius or that of Caesar." We sufficiently avenged the death of Trebonius when Dolabella was adjudged an enemy; Caesar's death is most easily defended by oblivion and silence. But mark his object. When he thinks the death of Caesar should be avenged he proposes death not only for the perpetrators of that deed, but also for those who did not resent it.

XIX. "For whichever of us falls those enemies will profit. Such a spectacle Fortune herself so far has avoided, that she might not see two armies of one body fighting with Cicero as trainer,[1] who is so far fortunate that he has deceived you with the same flowers of speech with which he boasted Caesar was deceived."

He proceeds to abuse of me, as if his former gibes have enjoyed the fairest success; but I will brand him with the truest marks of infamy, and will hand him down to the everlasting memory of men. I "a trainer"? And indeed not an unskilful one: I desire the slaughter of the worst, of the best the victory. "Whichever fall," he writes, "will be to our[2] profit."

41 nobis futurum." O praeclarum lucrum, quo te victore (quod di omen avertant!) beata mors eorum futura sit, qui e vita excesserint sine tormentis! A me "deceptos" ait "isdem ornamentis" Hirtium et Caesarem. Quod, quaeso, adhuc a me est tributum Hirtio ornamentum? nam Caesari plura et maiora debentur. Deceptum autem a me[1] Caesarem dicere audes? Tu, tu, inquam, illum occidisti Lupercalibus; cuius, homo ingratissime, flaminium cur reliquisti? Sed iam videte magni et clari viri admirabilem gravitatem atque constantiam.

42 "Mihi quidem constat nec meam contumeliam nec meorum ferre, nec deserere partes quas Pompeius odivit, nec veteranos sedibus suis moveri pati, nec singulos ad cruciatum trahi nec fallere fidem quam dedi Dolabellae,"—

Omitto alia; "fidem Dolabellae," sanctissimi viri, deserere homo pius non potest. Quam fidem? an optimi cuiusque caedis, urbis et Italiae partitionis, vastandarum diripiendarumque provinciarum? Nam quid erat aliud, quod inter Antonium et Dolabellam, impurissimos parricidas, foedere et fide sanciretur?

43 "Nec Lepidi societatem violare, piissimi hominis,"—

Tibi cum Lepido societas aut cum ullo non dicam bono civi, sicut ille est, sed homine sano? Id agis, ut Lepidum aut impium aut insanum existimari velis. Nihil agis (quamquam adfirmare de altero difficile

[1] Three MSS. have "*Deceptum autem patrem a me.*"

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[1] C. Octavianus.

[2] By being illegally away from Rome. A flamen (as A. was to Caesar: *Phil.* ii. 43) could not leave the city.

[3] Cf. n. 3, p. 254.

What splendid profit, whereby, if you are the victor —which may the gods forfend!—theirs will be a blessed death who expire without tortures! He says that Hirtius and Caesar[1] were "deceived by me by the same flowers of speech." What flower of speech, pray, has so far been bestowed by me on Hirtius? for to Caesar more and finer ones are due. But is it the other Caesar you dare to say was deceived by me? You, you, I say, slew him at the Lupercalia; and why have you, most ungrateful man, abandoned[2] his priesthood? But mark now this great and noble man's admirable gravity and firmness!

"I am resolved to endure no insults to myself or to my friends, and not to desert the party Pompeius hated, nor to permit the veterans to be removed from their abodes, nor to be dragged one by one to torture, nor to betray the pledged faith I have given to Dolabella,"—

I leave out the rest; this loyal fellow cannot abandon the "pledge he gave to Dolabella," that holiest of men. What pledge? One for the massacre of the best citizens, the partition of the city and of Italy, the devastation and plunder of the provinces? For what else was to be ratified by pact and pledge between Antonius and Dolabella, those most shameless murderers?

"Nor to be false to my alliance with Lepidus, the loyalest of men,"—

You in alliance with Lepidus,[3] or with any—I will not say good citizen, as he is—but with any sane man? Your endeavour is to show that Lepidus should be regarded as either disloyal or insane. Your endeavour is vain—though to speak positively about another man is difficult—especially about

est), de Lepido praesertim, quem ego metuam numquam, bene sperabo, dum licebit. Revocare te a furore Lepidus voluit, non adiutor esse dementiae. Tu porro ne pios quidem, sed "piissimos" quaeris et, quod verbum omnino nullum in lingua Latina est, id propter tuam divinam pietatem novum inducis.

44 "Nec Plancum prodere, participem consiliorum."

Plancum participem? cuius memorabilis ac divina virtus lucem adfert rei publicae (nisi forte eum subsidio tibi venire arbitraris cum fortissimis legionibus, maximo equitatu peditatu Gallorum), quique, nisi ante eius adventum rei publicae poenas dederis, ille huius belli feret principatum. Quamquam enim prima praesidia utiliora rei publicae sunt, tamen extrema sunt gratiora.

45 XX. Sed iam se colligit et ad extremum incipit philosophari.

"Si me rectis sensibus euntem di immortales, ut spero, adiuverint, vivam libenter. Sin autem me aliud fatum manet, praecipio gaudia suppliciorum vestrorum. Namque, si victi Pompeiani tam insolentes sunt, victores quales futuri sint, vos potius experiemini."

Praecipias licet gaudia; non enim tibi cum Pompeianis, sed cum universa re publica bellum est. Omnes te di, homines, summi, medii, infimi, cives, peregrini, viri, mulieres, liberi, servi oderunt. Sensimus hoc nuper falso nuntio, vero propediem sen-

[1] The superlative *piissimus* is frequent in writers of the Silver age; *pientissimus* is found in inscriptions.

[2] As he eventually did. P. was Governor of N. Gaul.

[3] *i.e.* Hirtius and Pansa, and the Caesarian party. A.'s argument is that he is fighting, not against the State, but against a Pompeian faction led by Cicero.

Lepidus, whom I shall never fear; I shall have the best hopes of him while I can. Lepidus wished to win you from your frenzy, not to abet your insanity. You, moreover, seek friends among not merely the loyal, but among the "loyalest," and, though the word does not exist at all in the Latin language,[1] you in your divine loyalty introduce a new one.

"Nor to betray Plancus, the partner of my counsels."

Plancus a partner? whose remarkable and Heaven-inspired loyalty sheds a lustre on the State—unless perhaps you think he is coming to your aid[2] with his most valiant legions, and the greatest force of cavalry and infantry of the Gauls—and who, if you do not pay the penalty to the State before his arrival, will bear the principal part in this war. For, although the first succours are the more useful to the State, yet the last are the more welcome.

XX. But now he pulls himself up, and at the end begins to philosophise:

"If, as I tread the path of an upright purpose, the immortal Gods shall, as I hope, assist me, I will gladly live. But if another fate await me, I anticipate joyfully the punishments you will suffer. For if, when conquered, Pompeians are so insolent, what they will be as conquerors it is you[3] rather who will discover."

Anticipation of joys you may have; for yours is a war, not against "Pompeians," but with the universal State. All Gods and men, the highest, middle, and lowest ranks, citizens and foreigners, men and women, freemen and slaves, hate you. We have felt this lately in a false report,[4] in a true one we shall feel it

[4] That A. was dead.

tiemus. Quae si tecum ipse recolueris, aequiore animo et maiore consolatione moriere.

46 "Denique summa iudicii mei spectat huc, ut meorum iniurias ferre possim, si aut oblivisci velint ipsi fecisse aut ulcisci parati sunt una nobiscum Caesaris mortem."

Hac Antoni sententia cognita dubitaturumne A. Hirtium aut C. Pansam consules putatis, quin ad Antonium transeant, Brutum obsideant, Mutinam expugnare cupiant? Quid de Pansa et Hirtio loquor? Caesar, singulari pietate adulescens, poteritne se tenere, quin D. Bruti sanguine poenas patrias persequatur? Itaque fecerunt, ut his litteris lectis ad munitiones propius accederent. Quo maior adulescens Caesar maioreque deorum immortalium beneficio rei publicae natus est, qui nulla specie paterni nominis nec pietate abductus umquam est et intellegit maximam pietatem conservatione patriae

47 contineri. Quodsi partium certamen esset, quarum omnino nomen extinctum est, Antoniusne potius et Ventidius partes Caesaris defenderent quam primum Caesar, adulescens summa pietate et memoria parentis sui, deinde Pansa et Hirtius, qui quasi cornua duo tenuerunt Caesaris tum, cum illae vere partes vocabantur? Hae vero quae sunt partes,

[1] Those formerly of Caesar's party.

[2] All this is ironical.

[3] C. may here be playing on two senses of *accedere*, *e.g.* "to accede to A.'s offer," or "to approach" in a physical sense.

presently. If you ponder on these things with yourself, you will die with an easier mind and with greater comfort.

"Finally, the sum of my decision tends to this: I can bear injuries inflicted by my friends,[1] if either they themselves are willing to forget the commission of them, or are ready with me to avenge Caesar's death."

Now you know Antonius' resolution, do you think that either Aulus Hirtius or Caius Pansa, the consuls, will hesitate to pass over to Antonius, besiege Brutus, and long to attack Mutina? Why do I speak of Pansa and Hirtius? Will Caesar, a young man of remarkable filial feeling, be able to restrain himself from exacting a penalty for his father's death in the blood of Decimus Brutus?[2] So when they had read this letter, they approached[3] his siege-works. And hereby the young Caesar has proved himself greater, and to have been born by the greater kindness of the immortal Gods for the service of the State, in that he has never been beguiled by any phantom of his father's name, or by filial feeling, and understands that the greatest duty of a son consists in the preservation of his fatherland. But if there were a party conflict—though the name of party is altogether extinct—would Antonius and Ventidius better defend the party of Caesar than first of all Caesar, a young man of the warmest filial feeling for the memory of his parent, next Pansa and Hirtius, who held as it were Caesar's two wings when that word "party" was truly applicable? But what parties are here when to the one side the authority of the

cum alteris senatus auctoritas, populi Romani libertas, rei publicae salus proposita sit, alteris caedes bonorum, urbis Italiaeque partitio?

XXI. Veniamus aliquando ad clausulam. "Legatos venire non credo"—bene me novit!—"bellum quo veniat"[1]—proposito praesertim exemplo Dolabellae. Sanctiore erunt, credo, iure legati quam duo consules, contra quos arma fert, quam Caesar, cuius patris flamen est, quam consul designatus, quem oppugnat, quam Mutina, quam obsidet, quam patria, cui igni ferroque minitatur.

48 "Cum venerint, quae postulant, cognoscam."

Quin tu abis in malam pestem malumque cruciatum! Ad te quisquam veniat nisi Ventidi similis? Oriens incendium qui restinguerent, summos viros misimus; repudiasti; nunc in tantam flammam tamque inveteratam mittamus, cum locum tibi reliquum non modo ad pacem, sed ne ad deditionem quidem feceris?

Hanc ego epistulam, patres conscripti, non quo illum dignum putarem, recitavi, sed ut confessionibus
49 ipsius omnia patefacta eius parricidia videretis. Cum hoc pacem M. Lepidus, vir ornatissimus omnibus et virtutis et fortunae bonis, si haec videret, denique aut vellet aut fieri posse arbitraretur? "Prius undis flamma," ut ait poëta nescio quis, prius denique

[1] Orelli's emendation of the corrupt *quod venias*.

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[1] Cf. *Phil.* xi. 2. 5. Ant. rightly thinks that envoys would not trust their safety to him.

[2] But V. was a remarkable man, and is cited in literature as a typical instance of the caprices of Fortune. He had been a captive in Pompeius Strabo's triumph; became a mule-contractor; won the favour of J. Ceasar; became tribune, praetor, and consul; defeated the Parthians;

Senate, the liberty of the Roman people, and the safety of the State are set as objects, to the other the massacre of good men and the partition of the city and of Italy?

XXI. Let us come at last to the clause "I do not believe envoys are coming"—well he knows me! "where war is coming"—and well it may be when we have set before us the instance of Dolabella.[1] I suppose envoys will have rights more sacred than the two consuls against whom he is in arms; than Caesar whose father's priest he is; than a consul-elect whom he is blockading; than Mutina which he is besieging; than his country which he threatens with fire and sword.

"When they come I shall learn their demands."

Destruction and racks fall upon you! Would any man come to you but someone like Ventidius?[2] For the quenching of a rising conflagration we sent men of eminence; you rejected them; are we now to send them into a blaze so great and so firmly settled by delay when you have made for yourself no room—I do not say for peace—but even for surrender?

This letter, Conscript Fathers, I have read, not because I thought him worthy that I should, but that by the man's own confessions you might see all his treasons laid open. Is it with this man that Marcus Lepidus, richly endowed as he is with all the gifts of virtue and of fortune, would, if he saw this letter, at last desire to make peace, or think it possible? "Sooner fire with water," as some poet says, sooner in short anything than that the State

was awarded a triumph, being the only Roman who had triumphed over that nation. He was given a public funeral. Cf. Juv. 7. 201; Gell. 15. 4; Plut. *Ant.* 34; and fragm. 5 of *Phil.* p. 647.

omnia, quam aut cum Antoniis res publica aut cum re publica Antonii redeant in gratiam. Monstra quaedam ista et portenta sunt [prodigia] rei publicae. Moveri sedibus huic urbi melius est atque in alias, si fieri possit, terras demigrare, unde Antoniorum "nec facta nec nomen audiat," quam illos Caesaris virtute eiectos, Bruti retentos intra haec moenia videre. Optatissimum est vincere; secundum est nullum casum pro dignitate et libertate patriae non ferendum putare. Quod reliquum est, non est tertium, sed postremum omnium, maximam turpitudinem suscipere vitae cupiditate.

50 Quae cum ita sint, de mandatis litterisque M. Lepidi, viri clarissimi, Servilio assentior et hoc amplius censeo, "Magnum Pompeium, Gnaei filium, pro patris maiorumque suorum animo studioque in rem publicam suaque pristina virtute, industria, voluntate fecisse, quod suam eorumque, quos secum haberet, operam senatui populoque Romano pollicitus esset, eamque rem senatui populoque Romano gratam acceptamque esse, eique honori dignitatique eam rem fore." Hoc vel coniungi cum hoc senatus consulto licet vel seiungi potest separatimque perscribi, ut proprio senatus consulto Pompeius collaudatus esse videatur.

[1] C. is thinking of the lines of an old tragedy: "*Ubi Nec Pelopidarum nomen nec facta audiam.*" He quotes them in *Epp. ad Att.* 14. 12.

[2] Before Mutina.

[3] L. had written to the Senate advocating peace: cf. ch. iv. *supra*.

should come to agreement with the Antonii, or the Antonii with the State. These men are monsters and portents, [prodigies] to the State. Better were it that this city of ours should be shifted from her place, and should migrate, if it were possible, to other lands where she should "not hear of the doings or the names" of the Antonii,[1] than that she should behold those men who were expelled by Caesar's valour, and by that of Brutus held in check,[2] within her walls. Our first prayer is to conquer; in the second place, to regard no chance of fortune as unbearable on behalf of the honour and liberty of our country. What remains is not a third, but the last alternative of all, to incur the greatest turpitude through love of life.

This being so, on the question of the recommendations and the letter[3] of that most illustrious man Marcus Lepidus, I agree with Servilius;[4] and I propose this addition: "That Magnus Pompeius, the son of Cnaeus, has acted agreeably with the disposition and the zeal towards the State of his father and his ancestors, and with his own accustomed virtue, energy, and good-will, in promising the Senate and the Roman people the assistance of himself and of those with him; and that this action is welcome and acceptable to the Senate and Roman people, and that this action will redound to his honour and dignity." This may either be added to the present decree of the Senate, or can be separated therefrom and independently registered, that the praise of Pompeius may appear in the Senate's own decree.

[4] Who had moved a vote of thanks to L. for his letter. See Introduction.

INTRODUCTION TO PHILIPPIC XIV

On the 15th of April an engagement (which is described by Servius Galba in a letter to Cicero: *ad Fam.* 10. 30) took place at Forum Gallorum, the modern Castel Branco, between the forces of Antonius and those of Pansa. This was the first battle of Mutina, in which the Consul Pansa was mortally wounded.

A false report that Antonius had gained a victory struck the utmost panic into the city. At the same time the Antonian party joined in a conspiracy to seize the Capitol, murder Cicero, and massacre their opponents. A false report was also spread that Cicero was aiming at the dictatorship, and would appear in public preceded by the fasces. Against this charge Cicero was defended on the 20th before the people by his friend Apuleius the tribune, and the people "with one voice," as Cicero says in his speech (*Phil.* 14. 6), "declared that he never had a thought but for the welfare of the State." Two or three hours after the meeting the true report of the defeat of Antonius arrived at Rome, and the people escorted Cicero to the Capitol to return thanks, and back again to his house. "It was an ovation," he says, "and well-nigh a triumph" (*Phil.* 14. 5).

On the 21st M. Cornutus, the city praetor, summoned the Senate, and P. Servilius moved that civic dress should be assumed and a public thanksgiving proclaimed. In the debate Cicero spoke the fourteenth Philippic, opposing the first proposal, but

supporting the second. On the first he argues that the abandonment of military garb was premature so long as D. Brutus remained besieged in Mutina. The second proposal he supported, as in effect, branding Antonius and his partisans as public enemies, seeing that—as he shows by historical examples—no public thanksgiving had ever been decreed for a victory over fellow-citizens. The thanksgiving he proposed should be continued for the unprecedented period of fifty days, and should be in the joint names of the three generals.[1] Those generals he would style Imperators,[2] in accordance with recent custom,[3] since for twenty years past the title had always been added to the grant of a public thanksgiving.

The speech concludes with an eloquent and touching eulogy of those who had fallen.

On the 27th was fought the second battle of Mutina, in which Antonius was routed and the other consul, Hirtius, slain.

[1] Merivale (*Rom. Emp.* ch. 25) shows that it was gross flattery on Cicero's part to include Caesar with Pansa and Hirtius, as, according to Dion (46. 38), Caesar took no part in the battle.

[2] *Imperium* is defined by C. (*Phil.* v. 16. 45) as the power "*sine quo res militaris administrari, teneri exercitus, bellum geri non potest.*" It was military, as distinguished from civil power (*potestas*), and might be conferred more than once; thus C. calls Lepidus *imperator iterum* (*Phil.* xiii. 4. 7).

[3] As to which see n. 3, p. 616.

M. TULLI CICERONIS IN M. ANTONIUM ORATIO PHILIPPICA QUARTA DECIMA

I. Si, ut ex litteris, quae recitatae sunt, patres conscripti, sceleratissimorum hostium exercitum caesum fusumque cognovi, sic id, quod et omnes maxime optamus et ex ea victoria, quae parta est, consecutum arbitramur, D. Brutum egressum iam Mutina esse cognovissem, propter cuius periculum ad saga issemus, propter eiusdem salutem redeundum ad pristinum vestitum sine ulla dubitatione censerem. Ante vero quam sit ea res, quam avidissime civitas exspectat, allata, laetitia frui satis est maximae praeclarissimaeque pugnae; reditum ad vestitum confectae victoriae reservate. Confectio autem huius belli est D. Bruti salus.

2 Quae autem est ista sententia, ut in hodiernum diem vestitus mutetur, deinde cras sagati prodeamus? Nos vero cum semel ad eum, quem cupimus optamusque, vestitum redierimus, id agamus, ut eum in perpetuum retineamus. Nam hoc quidem cum turpe est, tum ne dis quidem immortalibus gratum, ab eorum aris, ad quas togati adierimus, ad saga sumenda
3 discedere. Atque animadverto, patres conscripti, quosdam huic favere sententiae; quorum ea mens

THE FOURTEENTH PHILIPPIC OF M. TULLIUS CICERO AGAINST M. ANTONIUS

If, as from the letter which has been read, Conscript Fathers, I have learned that the army of our accursed enemies has been cut to pieces and dispersed, I had also learned what we all of us especially long for, and think has followed from the victory which has been achieved, namely, that Decimus Brutus has already come out of Mutina, then, as on account of his danger we had assumed military garb, so on account of his safety I should without any doubt propose that we should return to our ancient dress. But before the event which the community most eagerly waits for has been reported, it is sufficient to indulge delight for a most important and glorious battle; but reserve the return to the garb of peace for the completion of victory. But the completion of this war is the safety of Decimus Brutus.

But what does the proposal mean that our dress should be changed for to-day, and that to-morrow we should go forth in military garb? Nay, when we once return to the dress we desire and long for, let us see to it that we keep it for evermore. For it is not only disgraceful, but not even pleasing to the immortal Gods themselves, that we should depart from their altars, which we approached in the civic gown, to assume the garb of war. And I remark, Conscript Fathers, that certain Senators favour this proposal, their wish and design being this: as they

idque consilium est, ut, cum videant gloriosissimum illum D. Bruto futurum diem, quo die propter eius salutem redierimus ad vestitum, hunc ei fructum eripere cupiant, ne memoriae posteritatique prodatur propter unius civis periculum populum Romanum ad saga isse, propter eiusdem salutem redisse ad togas. Tollite hanc; nullam tam pravae sententiae causam reperietis. Vos vero, patres conscripti, conservate auctoritatem vestram, manete in sententia, tenete vestra memoria, quod saepe ostendistis, huius totius belli in unius viri fortissimi et maximi vita positum esse discrimen.

4 II. Ad D. Brutum liberandum legati missi principes civitatis, qui illi hosti ac parricidae denuntiarent, ut a Mutina discederet; eiusdem D. Bruti conservandi gratia consul sortitu ad bellum profectus A. Hirtius, cuius inbecillitatem valetudinis animi virtus et spes victoriae confirmavit; Caesar cum exercitu per se comparato, cum primis pestibus[1] rem publicam liberasset, ne quid postea sceleris oriretur, profectus est ad eundem Brutum liberandum vicitque dolorem
5 aliquem domesticum patriae caritate. Quid C. Pansa egit aliud dilectibus habendis, pecuniis comparandis, senatus consultis faciendis gravissimis in Antonium, nobis cohortandis, populo Romano ad causam libertatis vocando, nisi ut D. Brutus liberaretur? A quo populus Romanus frequens ita salutem D. Bruti una voce depoposcit, ut eam non solum commodis suis,

[1] *Cum primum pest.* (Kayser). One MS. has *a primis pest.*

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[1] *i.e.* his grief for the death of his adoptive father J. Caesar. D. Brutus was one of the conspirators.

see that the day will be a very glorious one to Decimus Brutus on which, on account of his safety, we shall return to civic dress, they desire to rob him of this honour that it may not be handed down to posterity that on account of a single citizen's peril the Roman people assumed military garb, and on account of his safety returned to the civic gown. Take away this reason, and you will find none for so perverse a proposal. But do you, Conscript Fathers, preserve your authority, abide by your determination; keep in your memories, as you have often made plain, that the issue of all this war centres in the life of a single most valiant and eminent man.

II. For the relief of Decimus Brutus were sent as envoys the chief men of the community, to warn that enemy and murderer to depart from Mutina; for the preservation of the same Decimus Brutus a consul chosen by lot has set out to war, Aulus Hirtius, whose weakness of health his strength of spirit and the hope of victory have re-established; Caesar, when he had raised an army by his own efforts, and had freed the State from the first outbreak of danger, in order that no such crime should afterwards arise, has set out to relieve the same Brutus, and has overcome some pain on private grounds[1] by his love of his country. What was Caius Pansa's object in holding levies, raising money, proposing the sternest decrees of the Senate against Antonius, encouraging us, and calling the Roman people to the cause of liberty, but the relief of Decimus Brutus? From him the Roman people in full assembly so earnestly demanded with one voice the safety of Decimus Brutus that they set that not merely before their own advantage, but even before

sed etiam necessitati victus anteferret. Quod sperare nos quidem debemus, patres conscripti, aut inibi esse aut iam esse confectum; sed spei fructum rei convenit et evento reservari, ne aut deorum immortalium beneficium festinatione praeripuisse aut vim fortunae stultitia contempsisse videamur.

6 Sed quoniam significatio vestra satis declarat, quid hac de re sentiatis, ad litteras veniam, quae sunt a consulibus et a propraetore missae, si pauca ante, quae ad ipsas litteras pertineant, dixero.

III. Imbuti gladii sunt, patres conscripti, legionum
exercituumque nostrorum vel madefacti potius duo-
bus duorum consulum, tertio Caesaris proelio. Si
hostium fuit ille sanguis, summa militum pietas,
nefarium scelus, si civium. Quousque igitur is, qui
omnes hostes scelere superavit, nomine hostis carebit?
nisi mucrones etiam nostrorum militum tremere vultis
7 dubitantes, utrum in cive an in hoste figantur. Sup-
plicationem decernitis, hostem non appellatis. Gratae
vero nostrae dis immortalibus gratulationes erunt,
gratae victimae, cum interfecta sit civium multitudo!
"De improbis," inquit, "et audacibus"; nam sic eos appellat clarissimus vir. Quae sunt urbanarum maledicta litium, non inustae belli internecivi notae. Testamenta, credo, subiciunt aut eiciunt vicinos aut adulescentulos circumscribunt; his enim vitiis ad-

[1] Caesar Octavianus.
[2] *i.e.* Antonius' soldiers if they are not to be regarded as enemies.

the necessity of daily food. This object we, Conscript Fathers, ought to hope is on the eve of fulfilment, or fulfilled already; but it is fitting that the fruition of our hope be reserved for the actual event, lest we seem, either by our haste to have anticipated the kindness of the immortal Gods, or by our folly to have despised the might of Fortune.

But since your manner sufficiently declares your feeling on this matter, I will come to the letter that has arrived from the consuls and the propraetor,[1] if I may first say a few words which are pertinent to the actual letter.

III. The swords of our legions and our armies have been dipped, Conscript Fathers, or rather steeped, in the blood shed in the two battles of our consuls, and in the third one of Caesar. If that blood was the blood of enemies, the devotion of our soldiers was supreme, a monstrous crime if it was of citizens. How long then shall he who has surpassed all enemies in crime be without the name of enemy? or do you wish the very weapons of your soldiers to waver in doubt whether they should be plunged into a citizen or into an enemy? You decree a thanksgiving; an enemy you do not call him. Truly welcome will be our thanks, welcome our victims, to the immortal Gods when there has been slain a multitude of citizens![2] "Yes," he says, "for the victory over unprincipled and audacious men"; for that is the name the most illustrious Senator[3] gives them. Such adjectives belong to urban law-suits, they are not the marks that brand internecine war. They are forging wills, I imagine, or are ejecting their neighbours, or cheating striplings; for it is

[3] P. Servilius, the proposer of the public thanksgiving.

fectos et talibus malos aut audaces appellare consuetudo solet.
8 Bellum inexpiabile infert quattuor consulibus unus omnium latronum taeterrimus, gerit idem bellum cum senatu populoque Romano, omnibus (quamquam ruit ipse suis cladibus) pestem, vastitatem, cruciatum, tormenta denuntiat, Dolabellae ferum et immane facinus, quod nulla barbaria posset agnoscere, id suo consilio factum esse testatur, quaeque esset facturus in hac urbe, nisi eum hic ipse Iuppiter ab hoc templo atque moenibus reppulisset, declaravit in Parmensium calamitate. Quos optimos viros honestissimosque homines maxime cum auctoritate huius ordinis populique Romani dignitate coniunctos crudelissimis exemplis interemit propudium illud et portentum, L. Antonius, insigne odium omnium hominum vel, si etiam di oderunt, quos oportet,
9 deorum. Refugit animus, patres conscripti, eaque dicere reformidat, quae L. Antonius in Parmensium liberis et coniugibus effecerit. Quas enim turpitudines Antonii libenter cum dedecore subierunt, easdem per vim laetantur aliis se intulisse. Sed vis calamitosa est, quam illis obtulerunt, libido flagitiosa, qua Antoniorum oblita est vita. Est igitur quisquam, qui hostis appellare non audeat, quorum scelere crudelitatem Karthaginiensium victam esse fateatur?

IV. Qua enim in urbe tam immanis Hannibal capta quam in Parma surrepta Antonius? nisi forte huius

[1] The four mentioned in n. 1, p. 562.
[2] Cf. *Phil.* ii. 18.
[3] C. presumably means that a conqueror would be more severe to a town that had resisted him.

men affected with these vices and such like whom it is customary to call "bad" or "audacious." The one most savage of all brigands is carrying on an inexpiable war against four consuls;[1] he is waging the same war against the Senate and the Roman people; all men—though the evil he works is to his own ruin—he threatens with destruction, devastation, tortures, and racks; Dolabella's brutal and savage deed, one that no barbarous people could acknowledge, he testifies was committed by his advice; and what he would have attempted in this city, had not this our Jupiter himself repelled him from this temple and our walls, he has shown in the calamity he brought upon the citizens of Parma. There most excellent and honest men, bound by the closest ties to maintain the authority of this order and the dignity of the Roman people, were put to death in the most cruel ways by that vile wretch and monster Lucius Antonius, that mark for the hatred of all men, or—if the Gods too hate those they should hate—of the Gods as well. My mind recoils, Conscript Fathers, and dreads to utter what Lucius Antonius did to the children and wives of the men of Parma. For the infamies to which the Antonii willingly submitted[2] to their own disgrace, they rejoice to have inflicted by violence on others. But the violence they offered them is disastrous: shameful the lust with which the life of the Antonii is stained. Is there then any man not bold enough to call these men enemies, by whose crimes he admits the cruelty of the Carthaginians has been surpassed?

IV. For in what city, when he had captured it, was Hannibal as savage as Antonius has been in Parma, which he had seized by stealth?[3] unless perhaps he

coloniae et ceterarum, in quas eodem est animo, non
10 est hostis putandus. Si vero coloniarum et municipiorum sine ulla dubitatione hostis est, quid tandem huius censetis urbis, quam ille ad explendas egestates latrocinii sui concupivit, quam iam peritus metator et callidus decempeda sua Saxa diviserat? Recordamini, per deos immortales! patres conscripti, quid hoc biduo timuerimus a domesticis hostibus rumoribus improbissimis dissipatis. Quis liberos, quis coniugem aspicere poterat sine fletu, quis domum, quis tecta, quis larem familiarem? Aut foedissimam mortem omnes aut miserabilem fugam cogitabant. Haec a quibus timebantur, eos hostes appellare dubitamus? Gravius si quis attulerit nomen, libenter adsentiar; hoc vulgari contentus vix sum, leviore non utar.

11 Itaque, cum supplicationes iustissimas ex iis litteris, quae recitatae sunt, decernere debeamus Serviliusque decreverit, augebo omnino numerum dierum, praesertim cum non uni, sed tribus ducibus sint decernendae. Sed hoc primum faciam, ut imperatores appellem eos, quorum virtute, consilio, felicitate maximis periculis servitutis atque interitus liberati sumus. Etenim cui viginti his annis supplicatio decreta est, ut non imperator appellaretur aut minimis rebus gestis aut plerumque nullis? Quam ob rem aut supplicatio ab eo, qui ante dixit, decernenda non fuit aut usitatus honos pervulgatusque

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[1] As to S. cf. *Phil.* xi. 5.

[2] During which there had been rumours of Antonius' success.

[3] In earlier times the title of "imperator" was conferred on a general by his soldiers after a victory; but by Cicero's time a practice had grown up under which it was conferred by the Senate, and later on by the Emperors: Tac. *Ann.* iii. 74.

is not to be regarded as an enemy of this colony, and of the rest towards which he is of the same mind! But if he is without any doubt the enemy of the colonies and boroughs, what think you is he towards this city which he has lusted for to glut the indigence of his brigandage, the city which that skilled and cunning surveyor Saxa had already apportioned by his ten-foot rule?[1] Recall, in Heaven's name, Conscript Fathers, what our fears have been these two days past[2] from most unscrupulous rumours spread by domestic enemies. Who without tears could look on his children, his wife, his home, his roof, his familiar Household Gods? All were thinking either of a most shameful death or of a most wretched flight. Do we hesitate to call enemies the authors of these fears? If any suggest a harsher name, I will gladly assent to it; with the usual word I am scarcely content; a milder one I will not use.

Accordingly, since we are bound, from the letter which has been read, to decree thanksgivings most justly due, and since Servilius has proposed them, I will in all increase the number of days, especially as they are to be decreed in honour, not of one, but of three generals. But my first task shall be to call them Imperators[3] by whose valour, judgment and good fortune we have been rescued from the utmost perils of slavery and death. For to whom these twenty years has a thanksgiving been decreed without his being called Imperator, though his exploits may have been very small or sometimes none at all? Wherefore a thanksgiving should either not have been proposed by the previous speaker, or the customary and recognised honour should be awarded

tribuendus iis, quibus etiam novi singularesque debentur.

12 V. An, si quis Hispanorum aut Gallorum aut Threcum mille aut duo milia occidisset, eum hac consuetudine, quae increbuit, imperatorem appellaret senatus; tot legionibus caesis, tanta multitudine hostium interfecta—(hostium dico? ita, inquam, hostium, quamvis hoc isti hostes domestici nolint) clarissimis ducibus supplicationum honorem tribuemus, imperatorium nomen adimemus? Quanto enim honore, laetitia, gratulatione in hoc templum ingredi debent illi ipsi huius urbis liberatores, cum hesterno die propter eorum res gestas me ovantem et prope triumphantem populus Romanus in Capitolium domo
13 tulerit, domum inde reduxerit? Is enim demum est mea quidem sententia iustus triumphus ac verus, cum bene de re publica meritis testimonium a consensu civitatis datur. Nam sive in communi gaudio populi Romani uni gratulabantur, magnum iudicium, sive uni gratias agebant, eo maius, sive utrumque, nihil magnificentius cogitari potest.

"Tu igitur ipse de te?" dixerit quispiam. Equidem invitus, sed iniuriae dolor facit me praeter consuetudinem gloriosum. Nonne satis est ab hominibus virtutis ignaris gratiam bene merentibus non referri? etiam in eos, qui omnes suas curas in rei publicae

[1] The word is, of course, used metaphorically. An ovation was a lesser form of triumph.

[2] Because of the invidious charge he proceeds to mention.

to those to whom even new and special ones are due.

V. If anyone had killed a thousand or two thousand Spaniards, or Gauls, or Thracians, the Senate would style him Imperator according to this custom which has prevailed; now, when so many legions have been slain, such a multitude of enemies killed—enemies do I say? yes, I repeat, enemies, however much those domestic enemies of ours dislike this name—shall we award the honour of a thanksgiving to most illustrious generals and yet deprive them of the name of Imperator? For with what honour, amid what joy and congratulation, ought those actual liberators of this city to enter this temple, when yesterday, on account of their exploits, the Roman people carried me from my house to the Capitol in ovation,[1] and all but in triumph, and thence brought me back home? For that, and that only, is in my opinion a true and genuine triumph when, to those that have deserved well of the State, testimony is borne by the unanimous voice of the community. For if, amid a general rejoicing of the Roman people, they were congratulating one man, it is a great certificate of merit; if they returned thanks to one man, it is so much a greater; if they did both, no more magnificent testimonial can be imagined.

"Are you then speaking of your own self?" someone may say. Indeed, I do so unwillingly, but the pain caused by a sense of wrong[2] has made me boastful beyond my habit. Is it not enough that by men without knowledge of virtue thanks to those who have well served the State are refused? shall envy search for a charge of rash-

salute defigunt, † impetus crimen invidia[1] quaere-
14 tur? Scitis enim per hos dies creberrimum fuisse sermonem me Parilibus, qui dies hodie est, cum fascibus descensurum. In aliquem credo hoc gladiatorem aut latronem aut Catilinam esse conlatum, non in eum, qui, ne quid tale in re publica fieri posset, effecerit. An ut ego, qui Catilinam haec molientem sustulerim, everterim, adflixerim, ipse existerem repente Catilina? Quibus auspiciis istos fasces augur acciperem, quatenus haberem, cui traderem? Quemquamne fuisse tam sceleratum, qui hoc fingeret, tam furiosum, qui crederet? Unde igitur ista suspicio vel potius unde iste sermo?

15 VI. Cum, ut scitis, hoc triduo vel quadriduo tristis a Mutina fama manaret, inflati laetitia atque insolentia impii cives unum se in locum ad illam curiam furiis[2] potius suis quam rei publicae infelicem congregabant. Ibi cum consilia inirent de caede nostra partirenturque inter se, qui Capitolium, qui rostra, qui urbis portas occuparent, ad me concursum futurum civitatis putabant. Quod ut cum invidia mea fieret et cum vitae etiam periculo, famam istam fascium dissipaverunt, fasces ipsi ad me delaturi fuerunt. Quod cum esset quasi mea voluntate factum, tum in me impetus conductorum hominum quasi in

[1] *Invidiaque* (Halm). *Que* however is not found in the MSS. *Impietatis crimine invidia* (Kayser).

[2] *Viribus* or *juris* (MSS). The text is Madvig's, folld. by Kayser. Klotz suggested *partibus*, and is folld. by Halm.

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[1] The symbols of power, *e.g.* of a dictatorship.

[2] C. perhaps means the Curia Pompeii where Caesar was murdered.

ness against those also who devote all their care to the safety of the State? For you know that during the last few days there has been a widely spread rumour that at the Parilia—that is, to-day—I proposed to come down into the Forum with the fasces.[1] I should imagine this tale was concocted against some gladiator, or brigand, or Catiline, not against the man who ensured that no such thing could ever be possible in the State. Is it to be believed that I who, when Catiline had this design, removed him, overthrew him, crushed him, should myself suddenly prove a Catiline? Under what auspices should I, an augur, receive those fasces? how long should I possess them? to whom should I transmit them? To think there was any man so wicked as to invent this, so insane as to believe it! Whence then came that suspicion, or rather whence sprang that rumour?

VI. When, as you know, within the last three or four days a depressing report from Mutina was prevalent, disloyal citizens, puffed up with joy and insolence, gathered into one place, into that meeting-place of the Senate which proved unpropitious to their own frenzy rather than to the State.[2] There, as they were planning our massacre, and were dividing the tasks among themselves, who should seize the Capitol, who the rostra, who the city-gates, they thought the citizens would flock around me. And that this fact should result in my unpopularity, and even in peril to my life, they spread abroad that report about the fasces; they proposed to bring the fasces to me with their own hands. When this had been done, as it were, with my consent, then an attack on me, as against a tyrant, by hired bravoes

tyrannum parabatur, ex quo caedes esset vestrum omnium consecuta. Quae res patefecit, patres conscripti, sed suo tempore totius huius sceleris fons
16 aperietur. Itaque P. Apuleius, tribunus pl., meorum omnium consiliorum periculorumque iam inde a consulatu meo testis, conscius, adiutor, dolorem ferre non potuit doloris mei; contionem habuit maximam populo Romano unum atque idem sentiente. In qua contione cum me pro summa nostra coniunctione et familiaritate liberare suspicione fascium vellet, una voce cuncta contio declaravit nihil esse a me umquam de re publica nisi optime cogitatum. Post hanc habitam contionem duabus tribusve horis optatissimi nuntii et litterae venerunt, ut idem dies non modo iniquissima me invidia liberarit, sed etiam celeberrima populi Romani gratulatione auxerit.

17 Haec interposui, patres conscripti, non tam ut pro me dicerem (male enim mecum ageretur, si parum vobis essem sine defensione purgatus), quam ut quosdam nimis ieiuno animo et angusto monerem, id quod semper ipse fecissem, uti excellentium civium virtutem imitatione dignam, non invidia putarent. Magnus est in re publica campus, ut sapienter dicere Crassus solebat, multis apertus cursus ad laudem.

VII. Utinam quidem illi principes viverent, qui me post meum consulatum, cum iis ipse cederem,

[1] C. probably means Calenus.

was organised; after which a massacre of you all would have followed. This plot the event, Conscript Fathers, has laid bare; but in proper time the fountain-head[1] of all this wickedness shall be disclosed. And so Publius Apuleius, the tribune of the commons, the witness, confidant, and helper ever since my consulship in all my counsels and perils, could not bear the grief caused by my grief; he held a very great public meeting of the Roman people whose sentiments were identical with his. At that meeting, while he was proceeding, in accordance with our close connexion and intimacy, to free me from the suspicion concerning the fasces, the whole meeting with one voice declared that no thought of mine on public affairs was other than entirely loyal. After the holding of this meeting, within two or three hours there arrived the messengers and letters with the news we had most longed for; so that the same day not only freed me from a most unjust odium, but also distinguished me by the collective congratulations of the Roman people.

I have interposed these remarks, Conscript Fathers, not so much as an apology for myself—for I should be in a poor way if I were insufficiently exculpated in your eyes without a defence—as that I might advise, as I have always done, certain persons of too puny and narrow a spirit to regard the virtue of excellent citizens as worthy of imitation, not of envy. Great is the field open in the State, as Crassus used wisely to say; many are they for whom the path to fame is open.

VII. I would indeed those chiefs of the State were alive who after my consulship, though I myself gave way to them, saw me not unwillingly

principem non inviti videbant! Hoc vero tempore in tanta inopia constantium et fortium consularium quo me dolore affici creditis, cum alios male sentire, alios nihil omnino curare videam, alios parum constanter in suscepta causa permanere sententiamque suam non semper utilitate rei publicae, sed tum spe,
18 tum timore moderari? Quodsi quis de contentione principatus laborat, quae nulla esse debet, stultissime facit, si vitiis cum virtute contendit; ut enim cursu cursus, sic in viris fortibus virtus virtute superatur. Tu, si ego de re publica optime sentiam, ut me vincas, ipse pessime senties aut, si ad me bonorum concursum fieri videbis, ad te improbos invitabis? Nollem primum rei publicae causa, deinde etiam dignitatis tuae. Sed si principatus ageretur, quem numquam expetivi, quid tandem mihi esset optatius? ego enim malis sententiis vinci non possum, bonis forsitan possim et libenter.

19 Haec populum Romanum videre, animadvertere, iudicare quidam moleste ferunt. Poteratne fieri, ut non proinde homines de quoque, ut quisque mereretur, iudicarent? Ut enim de universo senatu populus Romanus verissime iudicat nullis rei publicae temporibus hunc ordinem firmiorem aut fortiorem fuisse, sic de uno quoque nostrum et maxime, qui hoc loco sententias dicimus, sciscitantur omnes, avent audire, quid quisque senserit; ita de quoque, ut quemque meritum arbitrantur, existimant. Memoria tenent me ante diem XIII Kalendas

[1] The date of the third and fourth Philippics.

in the chief place! But at this time, in so great a dearth of resolute and brave consulars, with what grief do you suppose I am filled, when I see some disaffected, others utterly careless, others with small resolution to abide by the cause they have undertaken, and regulating their opinions not always by the advantage of the State, but now by hope, and now by apprehension? But if anyone is anxious to compete for leadership—and there should be no such competition—he acts most foolishly if he compete with virtue by means of vice; for, as speed is overcome by speed, so in brave men virtue is overcome by virtue. Will you, if my feelings towards the State are most loyal, in order to overcome me, yourself entertain feelings the most treasonable? or, if you see that good men flock to me, will you invite to your side the reprobate? Not so should I wish it, first for the sake of the State, in the next place also of your honour. But if leadership were at issue, a thing I have never sought, what, pray, could I desire more? for by evil votes I cannot be overcome, by good perhaps I might be, and willingly.

That the Roman people sees this, remarks it, and judges of it certain persons are annoyed. Could it be that men should not judge of each man according to each man's deserts? For as of the Senate as a whole the Roman people most truly judges that at no period of the State has this order been more firm or more courageous, so concerning each of us, and most of all us who on this bench express our opinions, all men enquire, and long to hear what each man's opinion was, and thus they think of each one according to their view of his deserts. They keep it in mind that I on the twentieth of December[1]

Ianuarias principem revocandae libertatis fuisse, me ex Kalendis Ianuariis ad hanc horam invigilasse rei
20 publicae, meam domum measque aures dies noctesque omnium praeceptis monitisque patuisse, meis litteris, meis nuntiis, meis cohortationibus omnes, qui ubique essent, ad patriae praesidium excitatos, meis sententiis a Kalendis Ianuariis numquam legatos ad Antonium, semper illum hostem, semper hoc bellum, ut ego, qui omni tempore verae pacis auctor fuissem,
21 huic essem nomini pestiferae pacis inimicus. Idem P. Ventidium, cum alii trib. pl. voluissent, non ego semper hostem?[1] Has in sententias meas si consules discessionem facere voluissent, omnibus istis latronibus auctoritate ipsa senatus iam pridem de manibus arma cecidissent.

VIII. Sed, quod tum non licuit, patres conscripti, id hoc tempore non solum licet, verum etiam necesse est, eos, qui re sunt hostes, verbis notari, sententiis
22 nostris hostes iudicari. Antea cum hostem ac bellum nominassem, semel et saepius sententiam meam de numero sententiarum sustulerunt, quod in hac causa iam fieri non potest; ex litteris enim C. Pansae A. Hirti consulum, C. Caesaris pro praetore de honore dis immortalibus habendo sententias dicimus. Supplicationem modo qui decrevit, idem imprudens

[1] The MSS. are very corrupt. Orelli reads: "*Vent., cum alii praetorem, trib. Volusenum, ego.*" The text is Olivetus' reading.

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[1] The date of the fifth Philippic, when he proposed that A. should be declared an enemy.
[2] As to V. cf. n. 2, p. 600.

was the chief instrument in the recovery of our liberty; that I since the Kalends of January[1] to this hour have watched over the State; that my house and my ears have been open day and night to the advice and warnings of all men; that by my letters, my messengers, and my encouragements, all men, wherever they might be, have been stirred up to guard their country; that never by votes of mine since the Kalends of January have envoys been sent to Antonius; that I have always called him an enemy, always this a war; so that I, who on every occasion had been the adviser of genuine peace, was hostile to this name of a pestilent "peace." Have not I too always regarded Publius Ventidius as an enemy when others wished for him as tribune?[2] Had the consuls been willing to allow these proposals of mine to go to a division, by the very authority of the Senate the weapons of all those brigands would long since have fallen from their hands.

VIII. But what was then not allowed, Conscript Fathers, is at this time not only allowed, but also imperative, that those who are enemies in fact should be branded in plain terms, and declared by our votes to be enemies. Before now, when I had used the terms "enemy" and "war," not once but oftener, they removed my proposals from the number of proposals, but in the present case that cannot any longer be done; for, according to the despatches of Caius Pansa and Aulus Hirtius the consuls, and of Caius Caesar the propraetor, we are giving our votes on the question of honour being paid to the immortal Gods. He who just now proposed a thanksgiving at the same time unconsciously

hostes iudicavit; numquam enim in civili bello supplicatio decreta est. Decretam dico? ne victoris quidem litteris postulata est.

23 Civile bellum consul Sulla gessit, legionibus in urbem adductis, quos voluit, expulit, quos potuit, occidit; supplicationis mentio nulla. Grave bellum Octavianum insecutum est; supplicatio Cinnae nulla victori. Cinnae victoriam imperator ultus est Sulla; nulla supplicatio decreta a senatu. Ad te ipsum, P. Servili, num misit ullas collega litteras de illa calamitosissima pugna Pharsalia, num te de supplicatione voluit referre? Profecto noluit. At misit postea de Alexandria, de Pharnace; Pharsaliae vero pugnae ne triumphum quidem egit; eos enim cives pugna illa sustulerat, quibus non modo vivis, sed etiam victoribus incolumis et florens civitas esse
24 posset. Quod idem contigerat superioribus bellis civilibus. Nam mihi consuli supplicatio nullis armis sumptis non ob caedem hostium, sed ob conservationem civium novo et inaudito genere decreta est.

Quam ob rem aut supplicatio re publica pulcherrime gesta postulantibus nostris imperatoribus deneganda est, quod praeter Gabinium contigit nemini, aut supplicatione decernenda hostes eos, de quibus decernitis, iudicetis necesse est.

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[1] These are incidents in the civil wars of 88–82 B.C., Sulla being the leader of the senatorial, Cinna and Marius of the popular party. Oct. was the colleague in 87 of Cinna in the consulship.

[2] J. Caesar, consul with S. in 48 B.C.

[3] Proconsul of Syria in 57 B.C. Was refused a *supplicatio* for some small successes against the Arabs: cf. Cic. *ad Q. Fr.* ii. 8.

declared them to be enemies; for a thanksgiving has never been decreed in civil war. Decreed do I say? It has not been demanded even in a victor's despatch.

Sulla as consul waged a civil war; when he had brought his legions into the city he expelled those whom he chose; those whom he could he slew; there was no mention of a thanksgiving. A serious war with Octavius followed; no thanksgiving was decreed to Cinna though he was victor. Sulla as Imperator avenged the victory of Cinna; no thanksgiving was decreed by the Senate.[1] Did your colleague,[2] Publius Servilius, send you yourself any despatches about the most calamitous battle of Pharsalia? did he wish you to move for a thanksgiving? Certainly he did not wish. But he sent you despatches afterwards about Alexandria, about Pharnaces; but for the battle of Pharsalia he did not even hold a triumph; for that battle had destroyed citizens who might have lived, and even conquered, without risking the safety and prosperity of the State. And the same thing had happened in former civil wars. For when I was consul the thanksgiving decreed to me, though there had been no armed conflict, was not on account of the slaughter of enemies, but on account of the preservation of citizens, and by a new and unprecedented procedure.

Wherefore you must either publicly refuse our generals a thanksgiving though they demand it for their most successful exploits—a thing that has happened to no one but Gabinius[3]—or by decreeing a thanksgiving you must necessarily declare those to be enemies against whom you make your decree.

IX. Quod ergo ille re, id ego etiam verbo, cum imperatores eos appello; hoc ipso nomine et eos, qui iam devicti sunt, et eos, qui supersunt, hostes
25 iudico, cum victores appello imperatores. Quo modo enim potius Pansam appellem, etsi habet honoris nomen amplissimi, quo Hirtium? Est ille quidem consul, sed alterum nomen beneficii populi Romani est, alterum virtutis atque victoriae. Quid? Caesarem deorum beneficio rei publicae procreatum dubitemne appellare imperatorem? qui primus Antoni immanem et foedam crudelitatem non solum a iugulis nostris, sed etiam a membris et visceribus avertit. Unius autem diei quot et quantae virtutes,
26 di immortales, fuerunt! Princeps enim omnium Pansa proelii faciendi et cum Antonio confligendi fuit, dignus imperator legione Martia, digna legio imperatore. Cuius si acerrimum impetum cohibere Pansa potuisset, uno proelio confecta res esset. Sed cum libertatis avida legio effrenatius in aciem hostium inrupisset ipseque in primis Pansa pugnaret, duobus periculosis vulneribus acceptis sublatus e proelio rei publicae vitam reservavit. Ego vero hunc non solum imperatorem, sed etiam clarissimum imperatorem iudico, qui cum aut morte aut victoria se satis facturum rei publicae spopondisset, alterum fecit, alterius di immortales omen avertant!

[1] That of consul. [2] C. Octavianus.

IX. What, therefore, Servilius does in effect, I also do by words, when I call them "Imperators"; by this very name I adjudge as enemies both those who have been already conquered and those who survive, when I call the victors Imperators. For by what name should I better call Pansa, although he has a name [1] of the fullest honour? by what Hirtius? He is indeed consul; but the one name springs from the kindness of the Roman people, the other from his valour and his victory. Again, Caesar,[2] one begotten by the favour of the Gods for the benefit of the State—should I hesitate to call him Imperator? a man who first turned the savage and foul cruelty of Antonius away, not only from our throats, but even from our limbs and vitals. And of that one day how many and how great, ye immortal Gods, were the acts of heroism! For Pansa took the lead of all in joining battle in conflict with Antonius, a general worthy of the Martian legion, as the legion was worthy of its general. If Pansa had been able to check its most vehement onslaught the affair would have been ended in a single battle.[3] But when the legion, greedy for liberty, had impetuously burst into the enemy's line, and Pansa himself was fighting in the foremost ranks, after he had received two dangerous wounds he was carried out of the battle, and reserved his life for the State. I truly regard this man, not only as an Imperator, but a most noble Imperator, who, having promised to satisfy the State either by death or by victory, has achieved the one; may the immortal Gods avert the omen of the other!

[3] The impetuosity of the Martians brought Pansa's forces into danger in the first battle of Mutina.

27 X. Quid dicam de Hirtio? qui re audita e castris duas legiones eduxit incredibili studio atque virtute, quartam illam, quae relicto Antonio se olim cum Martia legione coniunxit, et septimam, quae constituta ex veteranis docuit hoc proelio militibus iis, qui Caesaris beneficia servassent, senatus populique Romani carum nomen esse. His viginti cohortibus nullo equitatu Hirtius ipse aquilam quartae legionis cum inferret, qua nullius pulchriorem speciem imperatoris accepimus, cum tribus Antoni legionibus equitatuque conflixit hostesque nefarios huic Iovis optimi maximi ceterisque deorum immortalium templis, urbis tectis, libertati populi Romani, nostrae vitae sanguinique imminentes prostravit, fudit, occidit, ut cum admodum paucis nocte tectus, metu perterritus princeps latronum duxque fugerit. O solem ipsum beatissimum, qui antequam se abderet, stratis cadaveribus parricidarum cum paucis fugientem vidit Antonium!

28 An vero quisquam dubitabit appellare Caesarem imperatorem? Aetas eius certe ab hac sententia neminem deterrebit, quandoquidem virtute superavit aetatem. Ac mihi semper eo maiora beneficia C. Caesaris visa sunt, quo minus erant ab aetate illa postulanda; cui cum imperium dabamus, eodem tempore etiam spem eius nominis deferebamus; quod cum est consecutus, auctoritatem decreti nostri

[1] As compared with those veterans who had "devoured" them (*Phil.* xiii. 2), and afterwards joined A.

[2] By the decree of Jan. 1 (*Phil.* v. 17) giving him the title of propraetor.

X. What shall I say of Hirtius? who when he had heard of the affair led out two legions with astonishing zeal and valour; the Fourth, which had deserted Antonius and formerly attached itself to the Martian; and the Seventh, composed of the veterans, which showed by this battle that the name of the Senate and of the Roman people was dear to those soldiers who had preserved Caesar's grants.[1] With these twenty cohorts, but with no cavalry, Hirtius, himself carrying the eagle of the Fourth legion—no more glorious figure of any general is there in history—came in conflict with the three legions and the cavalry of Antonius, and overthrew, routed, and slew the nefarious enemies that were threatening this temple of Jupiter the Best and Greatest and the remaining temples of the immortal Gods, the houses of the city, the liberty of the Roman people and our lives and bodies, so that with very few companions, under the cover of night, and overcome by panic, the chief and leader of the brigands took to flight. Oh, what supreme happiness was that of the very sun, which, before its setting, while the corpses of murderers were strewn on the field, saw in flight with few followers Antonius!

Will anyone, in fact, hesitate to call Caesar Imperator? His age assuredly will not deter any man from such a vote, seeing that by valour he has overcome age. And to me the services of Caius Caesar have always appeared the greater in proportion as they were, by reason of his age, less to be required of him; for, when we gave him the general's command,[2] we at the same time conferred on him those hopes of ours which that name implied, and, as he has fulfilled them, he has by his own deeds

rebus gestis suis comprobavit. Hic ergo adulescens maximi animi, ut verissime scribit Hirtius, castra multarum legionum paucis cohortibus tutatus est secundumque proelium fecit. Ita trium imperatorum populi Romani virtute, consilio, felicitate uno die locis pluribus res publica est conservata.

29 XI. Decerno igitur eorum trium nomine quinquaginta dierum supplicationes; causas, ut honorificentissimis verbis consequi potuero, complectar ipsa sententia.

Est autem fidei pietatisque nostrae declarare fortissimis militibus, quam memores simus quamque grati. Quam ob rem promissa nostra atque ea, quae legionibus bello confecto tributuros nos spopondimus, hodierno senatus consulto renovanda censeo; aequum est enim militum, talium praesertim, honorem
30 coniungi. Atque utinam, patres conscripti, omnibus solvere nobis praemia liceret! quamquam nos ea, quae promisimus, studiose cumulata reddemus. Sed id quidem restat, ut spero, victoribus, quibus senatus fides praestabitur; quam quoniam difficillimo rei publicae tempore secuti sunt, eos numquam oportebit consilii sui paenitere. Sed facile est bene agere cum iis, a quibus etiam tacentibus flagitari videmur; illud admirabilius et maius maximeque proprium senatus sapientis est, grata eorum virtutem memoria prosequi, qui pro patria vitam profuderunt.

[1] A most unprecedented honour.

[2] The legions opposing A. when they had won a complete victory.

justified the authority of our decree. So this young man, one of the highest spirit, as Hirtius most truly writes, protected with a few cohorts a camp formed for many legions, and fought a successful battle. Accordingly, by the valour, judgment, and good fortune of three generals of the Roman people, in a single day and in several places, the State has been preserved.

XI. I propose, therefore, in the name of those three, a public thanksgiving of fifty days;[1] the reasons, in the most complimentary terms I can, I will include in the vote itself.

It appertains, moreover, to our good faith and humanity to declare to our most valiant soldiers how mindful of them we are, and how grateful. Wherefore I propose that our promises, including those boons which we have engaged to confer on the legions at the close of the war, should by to-day's senatorial decree be renewed; for it is fair that the soldiers, especially such soldiers as these are, should be associated with their generals in honour. And would it were in our power, Conscript Fathers, to pay their due rewards to them all! we will, however, be careful to pay with usury those promises we have made. But that is reserved, as I hope, for the victors,[2] to whom the pledged word of the Senate will be made good; and as they, at a most difficult crisis for the State, have adhered to it, it behoves us that they should never regret their resolve. But it is easy to deal with those who even when they say no word seem to solicit us; what is more admirable, and greater, and most incumbent on a wise Senate, is to accompany with grateful memory the valour of those that have been prodigal of their lives for their

31 Quorum de honore utinam mihi plura in mentem venirent! Duo certe non praeteribo, quae maxime occurrunt, quorum alterum pertinet ad virorum fortissimorum gloriam sempiternam, alterum ad leniendum maerorem et luctum proximorum.

XII. Placet igitur mihi, patres conscripti, legionis Martiae militibus et eis, qui una pugnantes occiderint, monimentum fieri quam amplissimum.

Magna atque incredibilia sunt in rem publicam huius merita legionis. Haec se prima latrocinio abrupit Antoni, haec tenuit Albam, haec se ad Caesarem contulit, hanc imitata quarta legio parem virtutis gloriam consecuta est. Quarta victrix desiderat neminem; ex Martia non nulli in ipsa victoria conciderunt. O fortunata mors, quae naturae debita
32 pro patria est potissimum reddita! Vos vero patriae natos iudico, quorum etiam nomen a Marte est, ut idem deus urbem hanc gentibus, vos huic urbi genuisse videatur. In fuga foeda mors est, in victoria gloriosa; etenim Mars ipse ex acie fortissimum quemque pignerari solet. Illi igitur impii, quos cecidistis, etiam ad inferos poenas parricidii luent, vos vero, qui extremum spiritum in victoria effudistis, piorum estis sedem et locum consecuti. Brevis a natura vita nobis data est, at memoria bene redditae vitae sempiterna. Quae si non esset longior quam haec vita, quis esset tam amens, qui maximis laboribus et periculis ad summam laudem gloriamque conten-

[1] A reminiscence of Soph. *Phil.* 437: *πόλεμος οὐδέν' ἄνδρ' ἑκὼν αἱρεῖ πονηρόν, ἀλλὰ τοὺς χρηστοὺς ἀεί.* A similar sentiment is found in Aesch. *Fr.* 52 and Eur. *Fr.* 649 and 721.

country's sake. Would that more ideas in their honour occurred to my mind! Two things at least I will not pass over which especially occur to me, the one relating to the everlasting glory of most valiant men, the other to the alleviation of the mourning and grief of their relations.

XII. It is therefore my wish, Conscript Fathers, that to the soldiers of the Martian legion, and to those that, fighting by their side, have fallen, there be raised a monument in the noblest possible shape.

Great and marvellous are the services of this legion to the State. This legion was the first to break away from the brigandage of Antonius; this garrisoned Alba; this came to Caesar's aid; by copying this, the Fourth legion has won an equal renown of valour. The Fourth conquered without the loss of a single man; of the Martian some have fallen in the very hour of victory. O fortunate death, the debt to nature, best paid on behalf of country! you I verily regard as born for your country; your very name is from Mars, so that it seems the same God begot this city for the world, and you for this city. In flight death is disgraceful; in victory glorious; for Mars himself is wont to claim out of the battle-line the bravest as his own.[1] Those impious wretches then whom you have slain will even among the shades below pay the penalty of their treason; but you who have poured out your last breath in victory have won the seats and abodes of the pious. Brief is the life given us by nature; but the memory of life nobly resigned is everlasting. And if that memory had been no longer than this life of ours, who would be so mad as, by the greatest labour and peril, to strive for the utmost height of

33 deret? Actum igitur praeclare vobiscum, fortissimi, dum vixistis, nunc vero etiam sanctissimi milites, quod vestra virtus neque oblivione eorum, qui nunc sunt, nec reticentia posterorum sepulta[1] esse poterit, cum vobis immortale monimentum suis paene manibus senatus populusque Romanus exstruxerit. Multi saepe exercitus Punicis, Gallicis, Italicis bellis clari et magni fuerunt, nec tamen ullis tale genus honoris tributum est. Atque utinam maiora possemus, quandoquidem a vobis maxima accepimus! Vos ab urbe furentem Antonium avertistis, vos redire molientem reppulistis. Erit igitur exstructa moles opere magnifico incisaeque litterae divinae virtutis testes sempiternae, numquamque de vobis eorum, qui aut videbunt vestrum monimentum aut audient, gratissimus sermo conticescet. Ita pro mortali condicione vitae immortalitatem estis consecuti.

34 XIII. Sed quoniam, patres conscripti, gloriae munus optimis et fortissimis civibus monimenti honore persolvitur, consolemur eorum proximos, quibus optima est haec quidem consolatio, parentibus, quod tanta rei publicae praesidia genuerunt, liberis, quod habebunt domestica exempla virtutis, coniugibus, quod iis viris carebunt, quos laudare quam lugere praestabit, fratribus, quod in se ut corporum, sic virtutis similitudinem esse confident. Atque utinam his omnibus abstergere fletum sententiis nostris consultisque possemus vel aliqua talis iis

[1] Another reading is *insepulta*, which is either "buried," or "lacking burial honours because of," etc. Cf. *Phil.* i. 2. 5 (*insepultam sepulturam*).

honour and glory? It has been well then with you, most valiant while you lived, but now also soldiers most revered; for your virtue cannot be entombed, either in the forgetfulness of those who now are, or in the silence of posterity, when, almost with their own hands, the Senate and the Roman people have reared to you an immortal monument. There have been in the Punic, Gallic, and Italian wars many armies glorious and great, yet on none of these has honour of such a kind been bestowed. And would that we could bestow greater, since from you we have received what is greatest! You turned from the city the furious Antonius; you, while he was striving to return, repelled him. There shall therefore be erected a mass of splendid workmanship and an inscription cut, an everlasting witness to your divine valour; and in your praise, whether men shall behold your monument or shall hear of it, never shall language of the deepest gratitude be silent. Thus, in exchange for life's mortal state, you will have gained for yourselves immortality.

XIII. But since, Conscript Fathers, the guerdon of fame is being paid to citizens most loyal and most brave by the honour of a monument, let us console their relatives, whose best consolation is indeed this: for parents, that they have begotten such staunch bulwarks of the State; for children, that they will have in their families models of valour; for wives, that they have lost husbands whom they will more fitly praise than mourn; for brothers, that they will trust to find in themselves a resemblance in virtue as well as in body. And would that we could by our votes and resolutions wipe the tears from all their eyes, or that some such public oration

adhiberi publice posset oratio, qua deponerent maerorem atque luctum gauderentque potius, cum multa et varia impenderent hominibus genera mortis, id genus, quod esset pulcherrimum, suis obtigisse eosque nec inhumatos esse nec desertos, quod tamen ipsum pro patria non miserandum putatur, nec dispersis bustis humili sepultura crematos, sed contectos publicis operibus atque muneribus eaque exstructione, quae sit ad memoriam aeternitatis ara Virtutis.
35 Quam ob rem maximum quidem solacium erit propinquorum eodem monimento declarari et virtutem suorum et populi Romani pietatem et senatus fidem crudelissimi memoriam belli; in quo nisi tanta militum virtus exstitisset, parricidio M. Antoni nomen populi Romani occidisset.

Atque etiam censeo, patres conscripti, quae praemia militibus promisimus nos re publica recuperata tributuros, ea vivis victoribusque cumulate, cum tempus venerit, persolvenda; qui autem ex iis, quibus illa promissa sunt, pro patria occiderunt, eorum parentibus, liberis, coniugibus, fratribus eadem tribuenda censeo.

36 XIV. Sed ut aliquando sententia complectar, ita censeo: "Cum C. Pansa consul, imperator, initium cum hostibus confligendi fecerit, quo proelio legio Martia admirabili incredibilique virtute libertatem populi Romani defenderit, quod idem legiones

[1] A reminiscence perhaps of Hom. *Il.* 12. 326: *νῦν δ' (ἔμπης γὰρ κῆρες ἐφεστᾶσιν θανάτοιο μυρίαι)*.

could be addressed to them as to make them lay aside their mourning and sorrow, and rejoice rather that, whereas many various kinds of death impend over men,[1] that which was the most glorious kind of all has been the fate of their kinsmen; and that they are neither unburied nor abandoned—and yet this too is deemed no piteous lot when met for the sake of the fatherland—nor burnt with humble ceremonies by scattered graves, but sepulchred with public labour and offerings, and beneath a pile that shall be to the memory of eternity an altar of Valour. Wherefore it will be the greatest consolation to those near to them that on the same monument is recorded the valour of their kindred, and the affection of the Roman people, and the good faith of the Senate, and the memory of a most cruel war, in which, had not such valour of the soldiers been shown, by the treason of Marcus Antonius the name of the Roman people would have perished.

And I also propose, Conscript Fathers, that the rewards we promised to give the soldiers when the State had been re-established should be fully paid with interest, now the time has come, to the surviving victors; and when any of them to whom those promises were made have fallen in their country's cause, I propose the same rewards should be given to their parents, children, wives and brothers.

XIV. But that I may at last sum up in a proposal, I move as follows: "Whereas Caius Pansa, consul and Imperator, has made a beginning of conflict with the enemy by a battle in which the Martian legion with admirable and marvellous valour has defended the liberty of the Roman people, an

tironum fecerint, ipseque C. Pansa consul, imperator, cum inter media hostium tela versaretur, vulnera acceperit; cumque A. Hirtius consul, imperator, proelio audito re cognita fortissimo praestantissimoque animo exercitum castris eduxerit impetumque in M. Antonium exercitumque hostium fecerit, eiusque copias occidione occiderit, suo exercitu ita incolumi, ut ne unum quidem militem desiderarit;
37 cumque C. Caesar pro praetore, imperator, consilio diligentiaque sua castra feliciter defenderit, copiasque hostium, quae ad castra accesserant, profligarit, occiderit: ob eas res senatum existimare et iudicare eorum trium imperatorum virtute, imperio, consilio, gravitate, constantia, magnitudine animi, felicitate populum Romanum foedissima crudelissimaque servitute liberatum. Cumque rem publicam, urbem, templa deorum immortalium, bona fortunasque omnium liberosque conservarint dimicatione et periculo vitae suae, uti ob eas res bene, fortiter feliciterque gestas C. Pansa, A. Hirtius, consules, imperatores, alter ambove, aut, si aberunt, M. Cornutus, praetor urbanus, supplicationes per dies quinquaginta ad omnia pulvinaria constituat.

38 "Cumque virtus legionum digna clarissimis imperatoribus extiterit, senatum, quae sit antea pollicitus legionibus exercitibusque nostris, ea summo studio,

example followed by the legions of recruits; and Caius Pansa himself, consul and Imperator, while engaged amid the weapons of the enemy, has received wounds; and whereas Aulus Hirtius, consul and Imperator, when he heard of the battle and learned what had happened, with the most courageous and excellent spirit led his army out of the camp and attacked Marcus Antonius and the army of the enemy, and made an utter slaughter of his forces with such impunity to his own army that he lost not a single man; and whereas Caius Caesar, propraetor and Imperator, has by his skill and care happily defended his camp, and routed and slain the forces of the enemy that approached his camp: on that account the Senate considers and declares that, by the valour, generalship, skill, firmness, steadfastness, greatness of mind, and good fortune of those three Imperators, the Roman people has been freed from most disgraceful and cruel slavery. And whereas they have preserved the State, the city, the temples of the immortal Gods, and the goods and fortunes of all citizens, and their children, in a struggle for, and at the peril of, their lives, the Senate decrees that on account of those feats of arms well, bravely, and happily achieved, Caius Pansa and Aulus Hirtius, consuls and Imperators, the one or both of them, or in their absence Marcus Cornutus, the urban praetor, shall institute a public thanksgiving for fifty days at all the couches of the Gods.

"And whereas the valour of the legions has proved worthy of their most noble generals, the Senate will, with the greatest zeal, now the State has been re-established, make good the promises heretofore

re publica recuperata, resoluturum; cumque legio Martia princeps cum hostibus conflixerit, atque ita cum maiore numero hostium contenderit ut, cum plurimos caederent, caderent non nulli; cumque sine ulla retractatione pro patria vitam profuderint; cumque simili virtute reliquarum legionum milites pro salute et libertate populi Romani mortem oppetiverint: senatui placere, ut C. Pansa A. Hirtius consules, imperatores, alter ambove, si eis videatur, iis, qui sanguinem pro vita, libertate, fortunis populi Romani, pro urbe, templis deorum immortalium profudissent, monimentum quam amplissimum locandum faciendumque curent, quaestoresque urbanos [1] ad eam rem pecuniam dare, attribuere, solvere iubeant, ut exstet ad memoriam posteritatis sempiternam scelus crudelissimorum hostium militumque divina virtus; utique, quae praemia senatus militibus ante constituit, ea solvantur eorum, qui hoc bello pro patria occiderunt, parentibus, liberis, coniugibus, fratribus iisque tribuantur, quae militibus ipsis tribui oporteret, si vivi vicissent, qui morte vicerunt."

[1] These two words are Ferrarius' emendation of the unintelligible MSS. Cf. the decree in *Phil.* ix. 7.

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[1] So ends the last spoken word of C. that has come down to us. Arusianus Messius, however, a grammarian of the fifth century A.D., quotes a few lines from a sixteenth Philippic. See page 646.

made to our legions and armies; and whereas the Martian legion has been the foremost in coming into conflict with the enemy, and has contended so successfully with superior numbers of the enemy as to slay many of them and to take some prisoners; and whereas they have without any reluctance poured out their life-blood for the sake of their country; and whereas with similar valour the soldiers of the remaining legions have, on behalf of the safety and the liberty of the Roman people, met with death; that it is the pleasure of the Senate that Caius Pansa and Aulus Hirtius, consuls and Imperators, one or both of them, if it seem good to them, shall, in honour of those that have shed their blood on behalf of the lives, liberty, and fortunes of the Roman people, on behalf of the city and the temples of the immortal Gods, take steps for the letting-out of a contract for the erection of a monument of the most noble kind; and shall command the urban quaestors to give, appropriate, and pay funds for that work, that there may be extant, to the everlasting memory of posterity, a record of the crime of our most cruel enemies, and of the Heaven-inspired valour of our soldiers; and that the rewards which the Senate has before appointed for the soldiers be paid to the parents, children, wives, and brothers of those that have fallen in this war for the sake of their country; and that the same rewards be given to them as should have been given, had they survived their victory, to the soldiers themselves who have become victors by death." [1]

LOCI, QUI A GRAMMATICIS EX PHILIPPICIS ADFERUNTUR NEC IN IIS EXTANT

1. *M. Tullius in Philippicis lib. IV:* Quid? hoc senatus consultum fecit ut clam te ex urbe proiiceres? (*Non. p. 373. 29.*)

2. *M. Tullius Philippicarum lib. XIV:* Titubare, haesitare, quo se verteret, nescire. (*Non. p. 182. 8.*)

3. Cic. *Phil. XVI:* Disceptata lis est. Non est illa dissensio disceptata bello. (*Arus. Mess. p. 225, Lind.*)

4. Cic. *Phil. XVI:* Deflexit de proposito. Laterensis ne vestigium quidem deflexit. (*Arus. Mess. p. 225, Lind.*)

5. *Quos nunc vulgo muliones dicimus, eos scilicet, qui iumenta vehiculis subiuncta moderantur et regunt, eos veteres, ut animadvertis, redarios dicebant, muliones autem proprie eos, qui negotiationem lucri sui causa in huiusmodi iumentis exercebant, quamvis et in Philippicis mulionem Ventidium dixerat eapropter, quod de publico redemerat iumentorum praebitionem, quae esset apud exercitum necessaria.* (*Schol. Bob. ad Mil. 10, Vol. II p. 286. 2.*)—*Ventidius ex mulione Caesaris dictatoris, ut Tullius in epistolis et in Philippicis loquitur, opitulante Antonio et Augusto usque eo provectus est, ut ei crederetur Parthicum bellum.* (*Schol. Iuv. VII. 199, p. 287, Jahn.*)

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[1] Juventius Lat. served as a legate in the army of M. Lepidus, and committed suicide when Lep. joined Ant. King infers from the fragment quoted that *Phil.* xvi. was spoken after the receipt at Rome of the news of Lepidus' junction with Ant.

[2] *Ad Fam.* 10. 18.

PASSAGES WHICH ARE QUOTED BY THE GRAMMARIANS FROM THE *PHILIPPICS*, BUT WHICH ARE NOT EXTANT IN THEM

1. Marcus Tullius in the *Philippics*, Book IV: What! did this senatorial decree cause you to fling yourself secretly out of the city? (*Non.* p. 373. 29.)

2. Marcus Tullius in the *Philippics*, Book XIV: To falter, to hesitate, not to know where to turn. (*Non.* p. 182. 8.)

3. Cic. *Phil.* XVI: The controversy has been decided. That quarrel was not decided by war. (Arus. Mess. p. 225, Lind.)

4. Cic. *Phil.* XVI: He turned aside from his purpose. Laterensis [1] did not turn aside even for a single step. (Arus. Mess. p. 225, Lind.)

5. Those whom we now commonly call muleteers, that is to say, those that drive and control beasts of burden yoked to vehicles, the ancients used, as you notice, to call coachmen; but they properly called muleteers those that, for their own profit, carried on a business in beasts of burden of this kind, although even in the Philippics Cicero had called Ventidius a muleteer for the reason that he had contracted with the Revenue to supply the beasts of burden necessary for an army. (*Scholiast Bob. ad Or. pro Mil.* 10, Vol. II, p. 286. 2, ed. Orelli.)—Ventidius after being the muleteer of Caesar the dictator, as Tullius states in his letters [2] and in the Philippics, was, by the patronage of Antonius and Augustus, advanced to such a stage of eminence that the command of the Parthian war was entrusted to him. (*Schol. on Juv.* vii. 199, p. 287, Jahn.)

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